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Fence-sitting all round as prices soar and strikes spread

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Even before the Christian Democratic Opposition has had time to embark on the hot autumn it has promised the Bonn government, a belated hot summer has unexpectedly put in an appearance.

Wildcat strikes occurring here and there seem to be spreading like an oil slick, and no one seems to know of a sensible means of combating them. Neither the employers nor the trade unions appear to be taking action of any kind.

Most firms are fence-sitting, either hoping that they will not be affected or crossing their fingers to ensure that the competition runs into strike trouble.

The prevalent management attitude is reminiscent of the country lore prayer to St Florian, who is claimed to afford protection from fire and lightning: "Holy St Florian, leave my house alone and set someone else's on fire!"

The government is restricting itself to well-meaning words of advice. Bonn reckons that since the two sides of industry are entitled to reach their own wage agreements it is, as it were, their own funeral – and the political parties by and large agree.

Yet this passive outlook on the part of all and sundry is hardly designed to contain the current wave of strikes. This is particularly true of the attitude adopted by the trade unions.

Unlike Communists of all hues, who are not given to scruples of this kind, the trade unions are taking good care not to lend strikers active and formal support while at the same time expressing understanding of the reasons that have led to the downing of tools.

This is a half-baked attitude and can hardly satisfy the unions themselves, yet at the same time it is hard to see what else they might do.

Were they to make the current wildcat strikes official they would be condoning a breach of existing wage agreements, which – once the situation returns to normal, which it is bound to sooner or later – is going to make life considerably harder for them the next time they meet the employers round the conference table.

At the same time they cannot afford openly to oppose the strikers. This would be to run the risk of forfeiting the goodwill of sections of the working class.

The only people interested in alienation of this kind are those who will have no truck with the entire system: radicals, anarchists, extremists.

Only at first glance would it appear to be in the employers' interest to attack the unions for not only tolerating strikes that take place without their approval but also organising meetings in support of the strikers.

On reflection it is obviously not in the employers' interest either for the trade unions to be undermined from within or from the rank and file.

Besides, on the quiet many employers no doubt sympathise with the unions when they express appreciation of the reasons that have led to the strikes. The reasons are only too evident when the wage increases gained at the last round of negotations have already been more than offset by rising prices, and it would be hard to deny that the strikers have a case in the circumstances.

Wage agreements must be adhered to, however. The trouble with wildcat strikes is that they call the whole wage negotation structure into question, the system being based on the tacit assumption that the trade unions are empowered by the employees to negotiate wage levels on their behalf.

This being the assumption, not only the unions but also the workers are bound by the terms of wage agreements, and wildcat strikes really mean that the strikers claim the right to improve their working-conditions in two different ways: via the trade unions as a general rule and regardless of the trade unions in exceptional circumstances.

This results in legal uncertainty that cannot but damage the social set-up. The trade unions have taken long to gain acceptance as the sole representation of the employees with whom the employers may negotiate. Now this position is being undermined by the workers, of all people.

This contradictory state of affairs conveys some idea of the problem behind the wildcat strikes that have hottened up the late summer.

In the wake of past inflation warnings have often been sounded to the effect that continual inflation leads to the disintegration of society. In recent years warnings of this kind have frequently been brushed aside by the powers that be.

Lessons learnt from the past no longer apply, it was argued. Creeping inflation has grown tolerable now that nearly eighty or ninety per cent of the population earn or draw wages, salaries and pensions that increase more or less on a par with prices.

Less than a year ago Helmut Schmidt, now Finance Minister in Bonn, noted that five per cent price increases are better than five per cent unemployment, and his comment did not create a stir.

Unemployment is self-evidently a more alarming state of affairs than rising prices and the dismissal of inflation as a more or less harmless phenomenon that is inherent in statements of this kind failed to upset anyone.

The evidence that wildcat strikes are tending to undermine hitherto firm social structures ought to make people stop and think, however. It proves that inflation continues to be a destructive force that must not be underestimated.

It also shows that the problems behind the strike wave can be solved neither by the two sides of industry nor by individual firms.

In point of fact phenomena of this kind can only be averted by a full stop or at least a perceptible slow-down in the depreciation of money. It is not up to industry to impose the brakes on declining purchasing power. This is the job of politicians and the government.

Wolfgang Wagner
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 August 1973)



Workers on strike at Küppersbuschwerke in Gelsenkirchen

(Photo: AP)

IN THIS ISSUE

Dynamic Kissinger takes over State Department

Dynamism has always been one of Dr Kissinger's characteristics, so it is hardly surprising that America's newly-appointed Secretary of State has wasted no time in outlining his foreign policy views, particularly with regard to Europe, and announcing his intenion of attending the 10 September conference of European Foreign Ministers.

Mr Nixon's European Year is thus coming slightly more into promience as summer moves on into autumn, with the President's tour of Europe in October envisaged as a climax.

This is definitely a welcome development, but it is still worth noting that Dr Kissinger has yet clearly to define the role he has in mind for Europe within the framework of his basic concept of international balance.

Verbal commitments alone are not enough, and it is to the new State Secretary's credit that he has invariably included Europe in his security considerations.

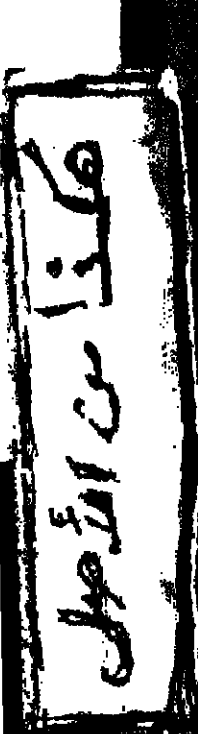
In Dr Kissinger's view the United States would not be the master of its own political decisions without the backing of Western Europe. Without Europe, furthermore, America's position in the Middle East, which the Secretary of State has always viewed in connection with Europe, would prove impossible to maintain.

Dr Kissinger can be expected to fill in the gaps that remain in his foreign policy concept in discussions with his European counterparts. So far he has not indicated exactly what he expects of Europe as a contribution towards consolidation of the Atlantic alliance – apart, that is, from increased defence expenditure in order to relieve the burden on the United States.

So far, for that matter, no one knows just what he is going to offer his Nato allies and the European Common Market in return for an improvement in mutual relations.

Last but not least, everyone on this side of the Atlantic must bear in mind that the United States is in poor shape at the moment as regards the domestic scene. Dr Kissinger has never bothered much about home affairs but of late he too has felt worried lest domestic uncertainty jeopardise external security. This is an anxiety that Europe must share with the Secretary of State.

Walter Beck
(Kieler Nachrichten, 25 August 1973)



■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Leonid Brezhnev's fears of detente policies

The autumn winds in Moscow are a little on the chilly side, as Nato, the West Berlin *Senate* (on the twelfth anniversary of the Berlin Wall) and the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe (in connection with its ruling on the compatibility of the Bonn-East Berlin treaty with Basic Law) have had occasion to note.

To interpret the chilly polemics in the *Soviet press as a coolly calculated* manoeuvre on Mr Brezhnev's part designed to bring pressure to bear on the West is to misjudge the change in atmosphere.

This latest trend does not signify a slap in the face for Bonn's *Ostpolitik* either. What is happening is that Leonid Brezhnev's policy towards the West has run up against counter-currents.

Right up to the higher echelons of Soviet power there are widespread misgivings lest General Secretary Brezhnev's detente offensive unleash unwelcome developments in the Soviet sphere of influence.

Politbureau member Mikhail Suzlov, the custodian of ideological purity, recently voiced these misgivings in a fairly frank fashion.

A number of Eastern European Communist Parties also seem to feel uniformly uneasy about the repercussions of Mr Brezhnev's policy towards the West, and Soviet media commentaries on the meeting of Eastern European Party leaders in the Crimea at the end of July convey some idea of the nature of Soviet misgivings.

– The agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union could result in a loss of face by the Kremlin in the eyes of national and revolutionary liberation movements – a development the Chinese would exploit with alacrity.

– Although the Eastern Bloc is increasingly sealing itself off from Western influence, and Eastern European intelligence services plan to cooperate even more closely under the ageis of the Soviet KGB, the process of ideological softening continues – simply because Mr Brezhnev's *Westpolitik* has too radically and swiftly altered the customary view of the enemy.

It is certainly small wonder that the call is now for increased vigilance, and at the Crimean summit the Eastern Bloc Parties agreed to improve substantially their level of ideological cooperation.

The crux of the matter is whether Mr Brezhnev is the motive force this time or merely engaged in an attempt to take the wind out of his opponents' sails by making concessions.

On the Soviet leader's return from the United States and France the fruit of his negotiations was given the seal of approval by the politbureau, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers, but at the same time the principle of collective leadership was reaffirmed.

On several occasions in early July *Pravda* and *Izvestia* made disapproving mention of the personality cult, and not long afterwards, in mid-July, Mr Suzlov fired his own broadsides.

In a speech to Party officials for whom Mr Brezhnev's much-publicised exploits in the capitalist West were a recent memory Mr Suzlov noted that the creative work of the Soviet Communist Party must be organically interlinked with international revolutionary processes.

They and they alone would bring about the collapse of Imperialism and the victory of Socialism on an international scale. On the international plane and in the capitalist countries class struggle continues unabated, he said.

Only a Party that plays a major role in the irreconcilable struggle with bourgeois ideologies is in a position to withstand the many possible petty bourgeois vacillations and to resist the temptation to revert to opportunism, Mr Suzlov felt.

To this extent Mr Suzlov feels Soviet foreign policy to form part and parcel of the Socialist stand on class struggle. His speech certainly sounded like a dogmatic warning shot across Mr Brezhnev's bows.

To envisage Brezhnev as a result giving his adversaries the sack, further promoting Gromyko and making Dobrynin Foreign Minister is to overestimate the opportunities open to the General Secretary.

Mikhail Suzlov was addressing an audience of 2,500 Party officials at a ceremony, let it be noted, to mark the seventieth anniversary of the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the 1903 London congress at which Lenin drew the first distinction between his own Bolsheviks and the more moderate Mensheviks.

In the communiqué issued to mark the meeting in the Crimea held a fortnight after Suzlov's firebrand speech there are certain passages that read like a justification of Mr Brezhnev's *Westpolitik*.

Mention is made of solidarity with national liberation struggles and resisting inroads into their freedom. The Socialist countries, the communiqué declares (much in the manner favoured by Mr Suzlov), pursue a principled foreign policy based on a class viewpoint.

The Helsinki conference of European Foreign Ministers is not hailed in the communiqué as a success resulting from Socialist peace policies but is merely rated to have been useful.

Suzlov's views are not shared by the entire Soviet leadership, as was shown by a *Pravda* thinkpiece on the Crimea summit penned by one B. Alexandrov. Far removed from Suzlov's vituperations on the Capitalist class enemy, the Pravda article sounds a much more moderate note:

"Both in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany... there exist political groups – at times extremely influential political groups – that actively oppose the relaxation of international tension."

In contrast to Suzlov's strategy of the delimitation, Alexandrov merely says that "in the increasing confrontation of ideas Socialism, in the final analysis, puts a far greater weight."

The day after Mikhail Suzlov's speech star commentator Yuri Zhukov replied on a Moscow TV programme to a letter from a railwayman and veteran by the name of Aleyev, who on one of his rail journeys had sounded a warning note against placing too much confidence in the Capitalist countries.

Six fellow-travellers sided with him, whereas another four supported a young teacher who painted the prospects of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries in glowing terms.

TV personality Zhukov, in accordance with Brezhnev's tactical line, replied that both were right. The young teacher was right because changes in the world today are making a stable peace possible, and the old railwayman was right because the target of Western propaganda is to make cooperation subject to an opening of the Soviet Union and a change in the Soviet system.

Christian Schmidt-Häuer

(Die Zeit, 24 August 1973)

Moscow's MIRVs upset the Pentagon

It may not have been surprising to learn from US Defence Secretary Schlesinger that the Soviet Union has been conducting MIRV flight tests over the Siberian Kamchatka peninsula, but the way in which this item of intelligence information was made public seems likely to herald a conflict of views characteristic of Washington at present.

The men who represent the opposite ends of the scale are Mr Schlesinger himself, who hails from the Rand Corporation, the think tank of the Cold War, and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's national security adviser and the man largely responsible for formulating the US position at the Salt talks.

In the first Salt agreement of May 1972, which was scheduled to be valid for five years or until such time as an unlimited agreement was negotiated, Washington accepted Soviet numerical superiority in strategic missiles (2,358 as against 1,710) because the United States, by virtue of its multiple-warhead MIRVs, retains the lead both qualitatively and in terms of the number of warheads it has on call.

The United States has a technological lead of about five years over the Soviet Union in respect of multiple-warhead missiles, with which, since 1970, it has equipped 550 ICBMs and submarine devices.

Multiple warheads carried by a single missile can, with the aid of a high-powered computer, be aimed at several targets and thus multiply the powers of destruction of a single rocket.

In the case of America's operational Minuteman missiles strikepower is increased threefold; in that of the Soviet SS 18, a larger missile that is still undergoing trials the increase is sixfold.

According to Mr Schlesinger the Russians will be able to equip their missiles with operational multiple warheads in two years' time.

In signing the 1972 interim agreement allowing the Soviet Union to proceed with qualitative improvements in its arms capacity President Nixon took the risk of Russia's making use of its numerical superiority by equipping every single missile with multiple warheads, thus ensuring qualitative superiority too.

The President and Dr Kissinger were convinced that the Russians are not keen on an arms race of this kind, which would inevitably jeopardise cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in a variety of sectors, particularly the economic sphere.

The President and his security adviser banked on the Soviet Union's being prepared, in the second round of Salt talks, to agree to a limitation of qualitative armament too.

This assumption was reaffirmed during Mr Brezhnev's visit to Washington last June. In a seven-point programme drafted for the Salt talks that are due to recommence this autumn in Geneva President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev agreed to conclude, by the end of 1974, an unlimited agreement on controls for offensive nuclear devices involving no unilateral advantages for one side or the other and including multiple warheads.

Pundits have always felt that the Kremlin would not be prepared to enter into negotiations on the technological arms race until it had conducted successful trials of MIRVs of its own. Otherwise it would condemn itself to being a permanent second-best in terms of nuclear quality.

In his comments to the press during Mr Brezhnev's visit to the United States Dr Kissinger repeated what he had stated in Moscow the year before, that the Russians would, in the final analysis, be prepared to negotiate an agreement on multiple warheads.

Viewed in this light the fact that the Soviet MIRVs have reached trial stage must be rated an encouraging juncture at which to start the forthcoming round of Salt talks.

Defence Secretary Schlesinger is of the opposite opinion. He maintains that the Soviet Union is seeking to gain a strategic advantage by equipping all its ICBMs with multiple warheads.

Sceptical about the prospects for Salt II, Mr Schlesinger has nailed his colours to the mast, and it must be conceded that the Pentagon was uneasy from the start about the seven-point declaration of principles made by Messrs Nixon and Brezhnev in anticipation of the next Salt round.

Mr Schlesinger echoes this sentiment by noting that Soviet flight tests make it far harder to keep tabs on Soviet arms development.

Spy satellites are capable of photographing flight trials of MIRV missiles but there is no way of distinguishing photographically between multiple- and single-warhead missiles. Mr Schlesinger accordingly feels that the prospects for Salt II have been regrettably worsened.

The tougher line advocated by the Defence Secretary for Salt II amounts to a demand for more rigorous inspection facilities and a more urgent call for numerical equality, which would involve a reduction in the size of the existing Soviet arsenal.

Dr Kissinger is not opposed to this approach as a matter of principle, but is probably more disposed than his counterpart in the Pentagon to take political considerations into account.

Herbert von Borch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 August 1973)

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■ DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Chancellor discusses government aims with Opposition leader

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In the Federal Republic an official meeting of the Chancellor and the leader of the Opposition is still ranked among special events, and for this reason the CDU has made such careful preparations for the talks between Willy Brandt and Karl Carstens that the Christian Democrats have been able to kill two birds with one stone.

Members of the party no longer need to worry that any arrangement is going to be made behind their backs and the general public has been made aware of the agility, aggression and responsibility with which the Opposition plans to pursue its policies in the future.

Professor Carstens himself and CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl and party General Secretary Kurt Biedenkopf have a clever way of utilising the novelty value they still have just a few months after taking over the Christian Democrat leadership.

Statements they have made capture the attention of the media and the public because they have not been in the limelight for long, even though these statements are somewhat lacking in substance.

This lack of substance is inevitable, since the departure of Rainer Barzel from the top CDU position did no more than create vacancies, but did not throw any light on substantial party problems. These will not be cleared up till mid-November at the party-political conference in Hamburg.

Until the conference Kohl and Biedenkopf will be in a kind of limbo. It will be impossible for them to keep their feet on the solid ground of facts. And in view of his position Carstens will be left suspended even longer, it seems, since he has to keep the CSU happy.

The Hamburg conference will be the first indication of whether the Christian Democrat leaders can produce cogent majority decisions on the points of domestic policy on which they intend to place particular stress – worker participation in management, accumulation of capital wealth in private hands, vocational training and land law reforms.

If one throws in tax reform these are the self-same points on which the SPD/FDP coalition intends to place the emphasis of its domestic policies. At the moment the Social Democrats and Free Democrats are as far removed from reaching agreement on these points as are the Economic Council, the Association for the Middle-Classes and the Social Services Committees of the CDU.

The darts that each side has fired at its opponents, accusing them of lacking ideas on important domestic reforms, are first and foremost designed to create a diversion and hide the fact that both government and Opposition are in difficulties. Almost all announcements that this, that or the other will certainly be decided upon in the next few months are more wishful thinking than the conviction that compromise solutions to the problems have been found.

All that appears certain is that the FDP is in a key position with ever-increasing importance, since the SPD must pay heed to the liberals' wishes and the CDU is inclined to heed them as well.

The CDU's wooing of the FDP is bound to have an effect on the nature of negotiations between the SPD and its smaller government partner.

With politicians all talking about domestic policies and no one having any clear idea of what his future plans are or what the criteria for potential compromises should be the political battle is something of a pillow fight at present. It is possible to pass a few summer silly-season months in this fashion, but shilly-shallying of this kind does not make for effective opposition in the long run, and certainly is no value as government of a country.

When it comes to foreign policy this much ado about nothing has the disadvantage that it produces exaggerated warnings at the wrong psychological moment and culminates in a loss of credibility.

Carstens of all people, the former number two at the Foreign Office made this mistake when he accused the government of neutralist tendencies. The only proof he could offer was an election campaign leftover, which turned out to be a bomb with a delayed action fuse from a talk with Egon Bahr which actually took place several years ago.

There is no ruling out the possibility that neutralist tendencies could one day be of relevance in the Federal Republic. But to accuse the present government of trying to make the country neutral is a grave miscalculation.

Surely the intelligent Professor Carstens, who has plenty of experience in this territory, must have realised this fact. Thus his criticism appears to be no more than a dress rehearsal for his role as leader of the Opposition.

Chancellor Brandt with Opposition leader Karl Carstens (Photo: dpa)

Carstens probably feels he has scored a great success, since the government's reaction was exaggerated. Normally the reply only comes so promptly and sharply when someone has been caught in the act! Obviously the government is having its difficulties adapting to the new CDU leadership.

Carstens could probably take a leaf out of Biedenkopf's book. He is the most flexible of the newcomers and to party members and outsiders has proved to be the most convincing.

He lashed out at the government for coming to power on a promise of taking care of reforms essential in the long run, but, after four years in office, having achieved nothing much in the sphere of domestic politics than a remarkable and most disturbing rate of inflation.

Where Ostpolitik is concerned Biedenkopf feels it will be possible for the CDU/CSU to reach a "basic consensus" with the SPD and FDP. He feels it would be well to drop all previous divergences of attitude and aims and hold talks more frequently than in the past.

Perhaps Carstens and Brandt will take the first step in this direction. It would certainly help to clear the air if the smokescreen of the past few days were blown away.

Hans Reiser

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 August 1973)

Strauss gives go-ahead for CSU to re-examine its policies

CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss recently told guests from the world of politics and economics: "We need a new theoretical basis. The CSU political programme must be brought into line with the present political situation in this country. But the tried-and-tested bases must not be made to suffer in the process."

These words, coming from the party Chairman who has so far swept aside all calls for more theory and less pragmatism, have fallen on fruitful ground.

CSU delegates who feel they are knowledgeable with regard to matters affecting basic party policy now consider that their great chance has come.

As soon as the CSU boss gave the go-ahead for theoretical considerations party officials at all levels began doing algebra with those unknown factors C and S and U. Decisions have been taken on matters such as worker participation in management, the mass media, foreign policy and German unity.

At the party-political meeting of the CSU at the end of September in Munich the central points of these matters will be discussed openly for the first time. Then Dr Theo Waigel, as head of a specially summoned commission on basic policy will devote his energies to the results of the CSU deliberations.

This is the first time since the Christian Social Union was formed that one of its party-political conferences will give over a good deal of time to theoretical discussion.

Strauss has woken up to the theorising of The Social and Free Democrats and been made to realise that although his party has been on a firm ideological footing for the past 25 years it has failed to adapt its ideologies to the changing political climate.

Suddenly the CSU has discovered people left in a political wilderness whose problems have not been answered by the party's efforts to overcome their own problems. With elections, as always, on the horizon Strauss has given the green light for ideological support for these potential voters.

The revamped CSU basic programme should be ready for its public airing by

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

the time the Bavarian provincial assembly elections fall due next year.

At this conference the delegates will try to get to grips for the first time with the man of the seventies. A well-known professor is expected to be called in to give them help in analysing the character of this man.

Study groups in which politicians, publicists and scientists will hold discussions with CSU delegates for the first time will deal with European policy, "education without an ideological straitjacket", the social-welfare free-market economy and policies with regard to the media.

Strauss has said that although these experts are to develop new ideas about the man of tomorrow, and the economy "the principles of the CDU/CSU must not be undermined".

But this is precisely what has happened in many minor party organisations. A few weeks ago The Christian Social Workers Organisation (CSA), a counterpart of the social services committees of the CDU, made no bones about coming out strongly in favour of worker participation in management on a parity basis. The executive committee of the DGB in Bavaria called this "a first step towards sanity".

A few days later the Munich branch of the CSU reached agreement on parity worker participation. This is a theme that will be hammered out by the party-political conference, along with a restricted liberalisation of land laws.

Even though there are no elections due in Munich in September the provincial assembly election battle will be a dominant subject at the conference.

In the autumn of 1974 the CSU is expecting a battle the like of which has not been seen in Bavaria since the War, according to the Upper Bavarian district Chairman and Minister for the Environment Max Streibl.

Strauss has gone so far as to call the Bavarian assembly elections "one of the most significant political decisions to be taken in German postwar history." He feels that its significance will be nationwide and even effect Europe.

For the first time the Social Democrats, with Housing Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel in the van, have launched an all-out attack on the Bavarian Alpine CSU stronghold, according to the CSU party organ *Bayernkurier*. The paper says that if the SPD does pull off a victory in Bavaria there will be black times ahead.

Rolf Henkel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 August 1973)

MEN IN HISTORY

August Bebel–a radical socialist and democrat

August Bebel, the most important leader of Germany's Social Democrats prior to the First World War, died sixty years ago on 13 August 1913. In many respects he embodied strengths and weaknesses, the admirable discipline and the complex internal contradictions of those early Social Democrats.

It has often been asked whether the Social Democrats would have declined and finally split during the First World



August Bebel

(Photo: dpa)

War with the disastrous consequences this had for the Weimar Republic – if Bebel had not died at the age of 73 a year before war was declared.

As much as Bebel was a product of his age he was at the same time an extraordinary person and would very probably have been capable of exerting a decisive influence on the wartime course of German Social Democracy.

There is an old and well-known photograph picturing August Bebel surrounded by the then members of the party executive. It is a fascinating sight. Among the mustachioed and bearded faces of dapper bourgeois and petty bourgeois figures there is only one really imposing individual with high forehead, thin cheeks, penetrating eyes, bushy eyebrows, prominent nose and the vital energy of expression caused by the firm mouth and protruding chin, intensified by a small white goatee beard. The legendary authority Bebel had over the party for more than half a century can be believed when looking at this photograph.

Bebel was born in 1840, a Prussian officer's son. He was trained as a turner. In later years he owned a lucrative concern of his own. This state of affairs was in a certain sense typical for the old-style German Social Democracy.

Intellectual petty bourgeois extremists played a relatively minor role in the German labour movement compared with parallel movements in France or Italy. The vast majority of leaders an active members were workers or had once worked.

But there was more of an artisan than proletarian flavour about the party. There were at least as many status-conscious journeymen as there were class-conscious workers.

Like many of his comrades and colleagues up to the First World War, Bebel too served his years of apprenticeship, wandering from job to job in the traditional manner.

The powerful German trade unions existing before the First World War were more typical of professional guilds than the Marxist-style mass organisations for the struggling proletariat.

This socio-historical outline seems to contradict the traditional view that Bebel of all people was one of the representatives of the radical class-conscious and specifically Marxist wing of German Social Democracy.

This view is not incorrect. Bebel, and even more so his older friend and party co-chairman Wilhelm Liebknecht, was a personal friend of Marx and Engels (particularly Engels) and always regarded himself as a convinced Marxist. Marx and Engels themselves had their doubts.

He passionately fought revisionism, the attempt to "revise" the theory and tactics of the strict class struggle by approaching the bourgeois standpoint. He also made use of his ample demagogic talents.

The Marxism advocated by German Social Democrats before the First World War was admittedly both remarkable and contradictory. The party programme and the phraseology normally adopted by the party closely followed the doctrines of its late and great teachers, Marx and Engels.

But this only applied to theory and party programme. Policy documents contained little of concrete value about the actual political practice of a mass labour party in a semi-democratic State and nothing at all about the establishment of a class-less Socialist society.

Despite the radical party programme, pragmatism was the watchword within the trade unions in the administrative organs of social insurance schemes, on the local government level or in the provincial assembles of the liberal states in South Germany.

One revealing symptom of the contradictions inherent in the official Social Democratic attitude was the letter Ignaz Auer, one of Bebel's colleagues on the party executive, wrote to Eduard Bernstein, the theoretician of revisionism: "Ede, you don't write that sort of thing, you don't say that sort of thing, you just do it."

Bebel, a strict and at times humourless moralist, did not approve of such a casual and cynical attitude. But that did not stop him from adopting a stance close to cynicism in actual political practice.

A truly revolutionary Marxist wing developed within the party under the intellectual leadership of Rosa Luxemburg after the Russian Revolution of 1905. The group began to propagate the revolutionary general strike – much to the annoyance of the trade unions who believed they had a monopoly on activities of this type. Bebel resorted to every tactical subterfuge he could muster in order to avoid open confrontation with the trade unions and the State.

But August Bebel was nonetheless a radical. He was a radical representative of the interests of the working classes and he was a radical democrat. His loyalty to the spirit and institution of democracy bore dogmatic and almost religious features. Philipp Scheidemann, later to become the first Premier of the Weimar Republic, wrote in his memoirs that he and a number of his younger colleagues in parliament organised a fancy-dress parade in the Reichstag during carnival, August Bebel stormed across to them and strongly objected to this debasement of parliament.

The political system that Bebel bitterly fought up to the end of his life was not the bourgeois capitalist society as such, however strongly he pilloried social grievances, but its particular political form – the authoritarian Prussian State.

The apparent hostility of German Social Democrats to the State was only one side of the coin. Their veiled nationalist, Democratic and social patriotism was the other.

Bebel, a committed anti-militarist, once exclaimed passionately: "No men and money for this system (the Prussian-German army)." There is no contradiction between this outburst and a later, more passionate utterance: "If it is a case of attacking Russian Czarism (hated as the embodiment of oppression) even I as an old man will once again bear arms." In 1914 the overwhelming majority of German Social Democrats and German workers followed the example of the great leader in a fit of patriotic enthusiasm.

There was no political strategy behind their actions – and it is doubtful whether Bebel could have done anything about this neglect if he had been alive.

As a party that was always in opposition and never shared in the responsibility of government, the German Social Democrats had no practical programme for the establishment and administration of a democratic republic and had not planned the first steps to be taken towards a Socialist society.

The party stumbled leaderless into the November Revolution of 1918 and many Social Democrats, disappointed by its

Hannoversche Allgemeine

failure, opted for revolutionary communist Utopianism or at least the dogmatic rejection of the system.

It was due in part to the consequences of this confusion in the ranks of the Socialist movement that the first German republic met its doom. The second is still suffering the after-effects.

No solution has yet been found to the problem of how the struggle for the preservation and extension of democracy today can be combined in practice with the creation of the new economic order promised in the SPD's Godesberg Programme.

This was inherent in Bebel's life, though historical conditions were different. And it was also masked by an individual who still holds us in his spell today.

Peter von Oertzen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 August 1973)

Gustav Stresemann – the 100-day Chancellor

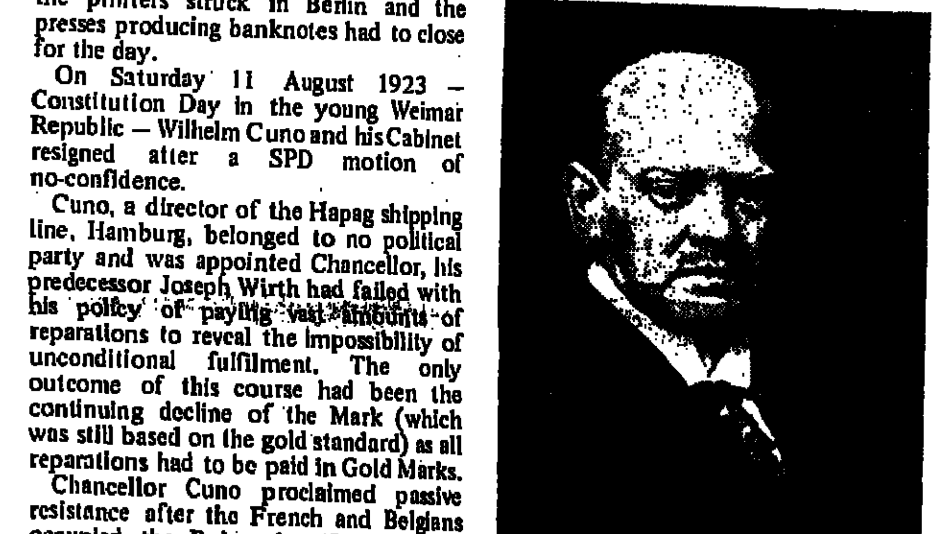
A loaf of bread cost 62,000 Marks in Berlin at the beginning of August 1923. A roll cost 2,400 Marks. The dollar was worth four million paper Marks. Reports of riots against starvation and inflation were coming in from all corners of the Reich. On Friday 10 August 1923 the printers struck in Berlin and the presses producing banknotes had to close for the day.

On Saturday 11 August 1923 – Constitution Day in the young Weimar Republic – Wilhelm Cuno and his Cabinet resigned after a SPD motion of no-confidence.

Cuno, a director of the Hapag shipping line, Hamburg, belonged to no political party and was appointed Chancellor, his predecessor Joseph Wirth had failed with his policy of paying vast amounts of reparations to reveal the impossibility of unconditional fulfilment. The only outcome of this course had been the continuing decline of the Mark (which was still based on the gold standard) as all reparations had to be paid in Gold Marks.

Chancellor Cuno proclaimed passive resistance after the French and Belgians occupied the Ruhr when Germany fell behind with her payments. Financing this course consumed the Reichsbank's remaining reserves of precious metals.

What was to follow Cuno's resignation? A communist revolution – one was indeed planned for the autumn – a right-wing dictatorship or a grand coalition of those parties supporting the Weimar Republic which celebrated its fourth anniversary that very 11 August – the SPD, the Democrats, the Centre, the



Gustav Stresemann

(Photo: Interpress/Staatsbibliothek Berlin)

Bavarian Volksparlei and National Liberal Deutsche Volksparlei (then in opposition) which Gustav Stresemann had founded in 1918 in competition to the Democratic Party?

The SPD and Centre politicians had consumed all their energy in past administrations and Gustav Stresemann, then 45, appeared to be the only party leader who could form a grand coalition including the SPD. Stresemann was an experienced parliamentarian and had known the old Imperial Reichstag. During the First World War he was still a supporter of the policy of annexation and maximum war aims.

On Sunday 12 August 1923 Stresemann, with the support of President Friedrich Ebert, managed to bring all the democratic parties around one table. An uncanny silence hung over Berlin that day as the transport workers were on strike. There was no gas, electricity or water either owing to strikes in other branches of the public services.

The list of Cabinet members was ready by the evening. Stresemann's first Cabinet took office fifty years ago on 13 August 1923. Stresemann himself also took over the Foreign Office and remained there until his premature death in 1929.

The new Chancellor was faced with immense, almost insurmountable problems. Shortly before taking office he called upon heaven to preserve him from a summons from the Fatherland to take over Cuno's legacy. fight inflation by introducing a new currency without cover. Stresemann knew little about financial policy. Dr Rudolf Hilferding, the new Social Democratic Finance Minister, proved to be an impractical Marxist theoretician. Herr Havenstein, President of the Reichsbank, was sceptical about any new proposals.

Former Imperial State Secretary

Continued on page 5

LEGAL AFFAIRS

Divorcees to be given greater protection under new legislation

Nordwest Zeitung

The Bundestag has passed so many laws recently that insufficient attention has been paid to the first reading of the divorce law reform bill. Women in particular should study the Bill in order to know where they stand.

The current marriage laws date from the nineteenth century, Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn states, and despite an occasional reform here and there males are still granted precedence.

It is therefore high time to reform marriage laws and make them conform to the principle of sexual equality embodied in Basic Law, the Federal Republic's constitution.

The passion has now disappeared from public discussions of the issue and the problems are being dealt with soverly and objectively. At one time only women displayed concern about the new divorce law. Now more and more men are criticising the generous maintenance guaranteed to divorced wives under the new Bill.

The Bundestag debate revealed that all political parties agree that the question of guilt need not be raised in divorce cases and that by their very nature marriages should not be continued for purely economic reasons.

The fact that the State has up to now ruled which party is guilty and which innocent and has imposed penalties on the guilty party, the fact that the State has intervened in the private lives of two adult human beings has tended to hit divorced women more than men because of the still dominant position of males.

The basic reform of marriage laws now being conducted is not meant to make divorce any the more difficult or any easier. It merely leaves the final decision on what is after all a personal issue to the two people involved.

The law can only try to distribute the burden more or less equally between the two parties affected. As marriage is meant to last a lifetime mutual material responsibility continues to exist even when a marriage fails.

The governing coalition agrees that the principle of guilt should be replaced by objective yardsticks to safeguard the economically weaker partner after the divorce. The Opposition would like to penalise the "guilty party" despite the fact that this principle has had disastrous consequences in the past, especially for women.

Only one woman took part in the Bundestag's consultations – Dr Lepskus spoke on behalf of the Social Democrats. She claimed that linking together the questions of guilt and maintenance had often proved disadvantageous to wives and children.

Only an objective study of the consequences of a divorce has spotlighted the social discrimination to which women are subject, especially where their unpaid housework and the bringing up of the children are concerned.

The fact that mothers bring up their children still represents a personal risk, she added, as the existing laws of maintenance take no account of the years spent as a housewife and mother.

The government Bill would grant protection to a divorced woman who has helped run the home and not gone out to work. On the other hand, young women who have interrupted a course of career training to marry will be allowed to return to their for job or given a training grant.

The debate about social insurance provisions for divorced women revealed the extent to which housewives are discriminated against in our social welfare legislation. The old-age pension offered them is completely inadequate and widows pensions for divorced women are rare.

In future both husband and wife will have an equal claim to an old age pension. Women are thus being given an equal claim to the entitlement for an old age pension contributed for jointly during marriage. Dr Lepsius described this step as the actual nucleus of women's liberation.

Another innovation is the establishment of priority – and special protection for the mother of small children – if a divorced husband remarries. The priority given to the first family will be even more pronounced if the marriage lasted a long period and the wife is consequently older.

The government Bill realises that there is an age at which a housewife will be unable to find a job and therefore grants divorcees protection against the social hardship that often used to be their fate in the past.

It is hoped to pass the new divorce law during the course of next year. Many women have been waiting for more than half a century for the economically weaker partner – and that is usually the wife – to be given adequate protection.

"We shalll still require a good deal of imagination as far as the welfare policy side is concerned," Dr Lepsius comments – and many people agree with her. The legal affairs committee has still to discuss a large number of issues – even though these are only the initial steps towards true sexual equality in our marriage laws.

Dr Meike Schoenfeld

(Nordwest Zeitung, 18 August 1973)

Hamburg authorities consider liberalising parole regulations

Hamburg's department of justice may allow prisoners to have "sex-dolls" in their cells to relieve their sexual needs. "The legal position is currently under examination," a spokesman claims.

A number of prisoners have applied for a sex doll – a true-to-life female figure made of rubber or plastic. The justice department denies rumours that prisoners at the semi-open prison in Neuengamme already have a sex doll.

Joachim Seeler, the city's Senator of Justice, has rejected the introduction of "love cells" on the Scandinavian model as being "contrary to human dignity". But it does not appear that the final word has yet been spoken on this issue.

The department of justice has indicated that the provision of love cells could help prisoners relieve their sexual urges. The only condition would be that these special cells were well away from prying eyes and situated outside of or on the periphery of the prison complex.

The department of justice is also considering even more generous parole regulations for prisoners. Some thirty per cent of prisoners are granted parole four times a year. Most of them are due for release in the foreseeable future.

Further liberalisation of the parole regulations would, the justice department claims, not only allow prisoners to have a normal sex life but would also enable them to establish more general contacts with the world outside.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 11 August 1973)

Penal reformers call for abolition of life imprisonment

Doubts about the sense of passing life sentences are increasing. Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn has also turned to this subject and stated that life sentences must not be tantamount to the death sentence abolished when Basic Law took effect. But there are still cases of prisoners serving life sentences which provide food for thought.

A 71-year-old prisoner in Werl gaol has been serving a life sentence for the past 25 years after the death sentence passed on him in 1948 for murdering a policeman was commuted to life imprisonment.

During his 25 years of imprisonment this convict has become a different person according to the warders, the Catholic chaplain and the prison psychiatrist. They all agree that the old man would represent no danger to society if he were now released. One of the prisoner's brothers and another member of the family are prepared to accommodate and take care of him.

But all pleas for clemency have so far been rejected. Hesse's Prime Minister Albert Osswald, the man who has the final say in the matter, claims that the sentence must be served as a deterrent to others. Attempts by President Heinemann and his wife to obtain his release have also failed.

This is only one case of many. The experts have recently been devoting more and more attention to the problems involved. Their doubts concerning the point of such a sentence have increased. Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn recently stated that the problem of life sentences would have to be re-examined when the current legal system is overhauled. The aim of a modern administration of justice cannot be to destroy the persons entrusted to it, he commented.

His words have now been echoed by two Free Democrat politicians – Andreas von Schoeler, a member of the special committee for penal reform, and Professor Baumann, deputy chairman of the FDP National Committee for Domestic and Legal Affairs Policy.

Their statements are of pressing importance in view of the preliminary moves made for penal law reform. Most of the proposals so far of put forward envisage re taining the life sentence.

Critics of rentention – who include Christian Democrat member Dietrich Rollmann as well as the Minister of Justice and the two FDP politicians – raise a number of objections to life imprisonment.

The general public's views about the point of punishment have changed in recent years, critics argue. The idea of rehabilitation has gained the upper hand over the idea of atonement.

Life imprisonment is incompatible with the idea of rehabilitation. It is tantamount to a "death sentence by instalments" as it entails an irreversible decline of personality coupled with serious physical and mental harm.

During the first years of his sentence the prisoner will still be thinking about his crime, interrogation, custody and conviction. Schoeler writes that even prisoners with few feelings are subject to a high degree of agitation.

But later their state of mind changes. The second phase of imprisonment is governed by the struggle that prisoners conduct against the destructive influence of the prison for reasons of self-preservation, Schoeler claims.

The third stage which begins after fifteen or in some cases only ten years finally changes the prisoner's personality and makes him bitter and ditrustful. His attitude is one of resignation. The energy he once mustered is now completely consumed. His inability to live a life of his own visibly increases. The decline can lead to madness.

The reformers would like to see life imprisonment replaced by an unlimited sentence. After ten or fifteen years courts would be obliged to re-examine the case and rule whether a fixed term of imprisonment should be imposed or whether the prisoner should be given a conditional discharge. Society's need for security (especially where sexual offenders are concerned) would also be taken into consideration.

Time will tell whether these or similar ideas will be adopted during the course of penal reform. At any rate the claim put forward by Dieter Rollmann that any prisoner who has served fifteen to twenty years has become a different person is gradually gaining ground. These prisoners are no longer able to link their imprisonment with their offence and continued imprisonment does not prove beneficial.

Christine Reinhard

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 August 1973)

Continued from page 4

Helfferich's plan to introduce a "rye Mark" was at first shelved. It was later adopted in somewhat modified from after Hans Luther moved into the Finance Ministry and Stresemann's friend Hjalmar Schacht became head of the Reichsbank.

An interim solution was reached and on 15 November 1923 the government introduced the Rentenmark, based on the total mortgage value of German agriculture. One Rentenmark was equal to a billion paper Marks. The value of the dollar had risen in the meantime to four billion paper Marks.

The second problem Stresemann grappled with despite violent opposition within his own party's ranks was the ending of the costly passive resistance in the Ruhr announced on 26 September 1923), and the introduction of a new policy towards France – at first stubbornly rejected by the French government – which was to be based on both understanding and the fulfilment of reparation debts. But this policy of fulfilment would have to be such as to bring Germany advantages as an equal partner.

The third problem concerned the separatist movements on the Rhine and in Bavaria and the Communist infiltration into the provincial governments of Saxony and Thuringia. Stresemann exercised the Reich's right of armed intervention against both states.

When Hitler conducted his Munich Putsch on 8 November 1923 and proclaimed national revolution, it was again Chancellor Stresemann in Berlin who reacted with greatest tenacity.

Stresemann's term of office ended on 23 November 1923. He has often been described as the hundred-day Chancellor as a result. But the hundred days in which he ruled laid the foundations for the Golden Twenties.

(Die Welt, 11 August 1973)

■ INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Hard bargaining expected at Tokyo GATT conference

Developing countries are lashing out at rich industrialised nations for creating difficulties in the sale of their exported goods by import duties and quotas.

Industrialised nations in turn have been accusing many developing countries of acting in precisely the same manner and poisoning the climate for investment by nationalising many branches of industry.

Industrialised nations are also going hammer and tongs at each other when it comes to seeking trading advantages, wherever possible.

For all countries at present national self-interest is predominant and has banished liberal international considerations. Belief in international frece trading is something that is really only paid lip service these days. Otherwise the law of the jungle prevails.

At the vanguard of this movement is America, which was once the motive force behind and major champion of free trade and the unimpeded transfer of capital. Washington is allowing self-interest to rake over more and more with the implementation of protectionist measures.

The United States have broken existing trade agreements and introduced at short notice export bans on certain goods and commodities if this appeared to be of advantage to their national economy. The soyabean agreement with the European Community is a classic example. Of course the United States are not in an enviable position at present. Inflation of the domestic economy has forced President Nixon to implement unpopular braking measures including a wage and price freeze.

World-wide speculation against the dollar is also gnawing at Washington's nerves. But this does not justify such a hard line against friends like the EEC and Japan nor does it vindicate sudden and stealthy moves without prior consultation with those affected.

It is hardly surprising that the French, already far from great admirers of the Americans, are calling for tough sanctions and for a strict policy of autarchy in the EEC agricultural sphere so as to make Europe independent of farm produce imports, particularly from America.

Common sense from the Federal Republic, whose representatives in Brussels put their foot down, has meant that the Community has not gone along with Paris' anti-American line. Other EEC countries condemn the arbitrary actions taken by Washington in principle but they quite rightly fear that retaliatory regulations on the part of the Americans would lead to an escalation of trade barriers and possibly even to a world-wide trade war.

Bad relations between the two largest trading blocs in the world would of necessity have a bad effect on relationships with and among other countries.

These trade-policy tussles are taking place at precisely the time when the stage should be set for a liberal exchange of goods, as free as possible from restrictive measures.

In September the countries belonging to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) will be meeting in Tokyo to discuss the possibility of removal of more trade barriers or even the total removal of import dutis.

Not only customs barriers will be on the agenda but also the jungle of regulations on the so-called non-tariff sphere. It is precisely in this sector that many countries have much on their conscience.

It is difficult to imagine a worse state of affairs prior to an attempt at creating free world trade. It is incomprehensible why no one has decided to postpone this ill-starred conference.

Imports and exports 1972

Major imports of FRG goods — in milliard Marks — Major exporters to the FRG

France 19.4, Netherlands 15.2, USA 13.8, Belgium/Luxembourg 12.8, Italy 12.6, Switzerland 8.8, Austria 7.5, Britain 7.0, Sweden 5.0, Denmark 3.0

Austria 2.7, Japan 3.2, Sweden 3.2, Switzerland 3.7, Britain 4.6, USA 10.8, Belgium/Luxembourg 13.0, Italy 13.9, Netherlands 17.8, France

Proportion of foreign trade (imports and exports) in 1972 in %

The Common Market 50%, Developing countries 13, East Bloc 5, Other industrialised nations 22, North America 10

It is easy to imagine the bitter words that will be aimed like darts at America in the Japanese capital, since Washington has cocked a snook at practically at every country in the world over trade policy.

The French in particular will read the riot act to America. When the EEC camp met to discuss the joint line to be taken in Tokyo there were major differences of opinion on the Council of Ministers.

Paris plans to use the GATT forum to discuss not only trade matters but also the dollar problem and thereby practically a re-alignment of the world currency system.

Precisely on this point of the world's monetary setup the Americans are fighting an obstinate defensive battle, since they are loath to admit that the dominant role of the dollar in the international currency setup of post-war years, the very basis of the Western monetary system, is a thing of the past.

Indeed it is disturbing the nonchalance with which America has for a long time viewed the gradual sinking of the dollar exchange rate on international monetary markets.

First there were the massive remonstrances of government leaders and heads of central banks in Western Europe and then the commitments to support the dollar. Washington was hesitant about devaluing and when it finally did so it was reluctant and hesitant.

Nixon wanted to stamp his name first on this GATT round. Following his political successes in rapprochement with Peking and Moscow he hoped that he could also build himself a monument in the trade policy sphere and at the same time put the Kennedy Round of the early sixties, the first major world-wide trade breakthrough, in the shadows. But President Nixon will not succeed. His brusque treatment of trading partners recently has ensured that the hopes and expectations placed in the new GATT round will not be fulfilled.

It is to be hoped that the nations with the greatest foresight will take over the reins in Tokyo and ensure that after the initial round of breathing fire the items on the agenda for the various sub-committees of experts will be held with less fire and brimstone flowing. A cool head is needed until the new international monetary system, the initial outlines of which are already to be seen, has found a firm footing.

With this new monetary basis many trade problems will be solved quite simply.

Wolfgang Spaet

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 August 1973)

Bundesbank must exercise caution after summer recess

Talk of a recession is becoming louder. Amid the general acceptance of the terms of the stabilisation measures in force there is mixed the fear of a sudden slackening off of the economy.

Recently Japanese bankers spoke of the threatening shadow of a world economic crisis as bad as that of the thirties. And now this same spectre seems to be haunting Europe's economic observers for the first time since World War II.

These worries are only bolstered up by the fact that other weaknesses are at present running parallel to the economy. There is the decay of the dollar and other currencies, which aggravate the situation. Another worrying factor is that on its 25th birthday the internal purchasing power of the Mark was only 54 Pfennigs.

It is a truism that even the most high-powered sports car screeches to a halt if you keep your foot on the brake pedal. The Bundesbank went into its summer recess without passing any further restrictive measures.

Bank President Karl Klasen well remembers the 1967 recession which was ended by depressing the accelerator too far and too soon. What happened then should not be allowed to happen in reverse now. There are two dangers imminent if the brakes are applied too long and too hard now.

Firstly the partial recession we are now experiencing in the building trade and machinery manufacturing industries could become a general recession. An overall economic depression would be a crisis situation.

The level of minimum profitability in all branches would rise so that not only touch-and-go, speculative operators, but also solid, healthy firms would find they could no longer remain solvent, and would have to shut up shop. These would be the first victims of the policy of expensive money.

This would erode the middle-class industrial sector. Smaller and middle-sized companies have less access to the capital markets, and would be crippled. Their collapse would be the signal for a general crisis. This cannot be the purpose of a rational economic policy.

The second danger is in the banking sector itself. As long as the net liquidity quota, that is to say the money that the banks require for loans, is kept as low as at present the ways of arranging short-term financing on the money market become more expensive.

Interests rates of up to forty per cent, which have been nothing out of the ordinary for some time, are monstrous. But in the long run the Bundesbank cannot shirk its responsibilities as a central bank and content itself with mere administrative measures such as a ten-day purchase offer for industrial bonds with low interest rates. It must return to being an instrument of Lombard credit, genuine banking credit against the pledge of goods or bonds.

We should not overlook the fact that an extension of credit does not automatically entail an expansion of the economy. We should recognise the dividing line.

The situation is thus: in order to be able to obtain credit at a favourable rate many buyers are extending the period of payment. Supplier's credit is becoming far more commonplace. This form of financing is favourable for the buyer. But the seller has to seek money through the normal channels and pay huge interest rates at banks to finance his sales. This just means that the buck is passed from buyer to supplier.

It is only ever possible to estimate the best method of economic steering. It can never be calculated by slide-rule. Policymakers must sense when they have oversteered and correct their course. So now the Bundesbank must be on its guard. It acted cautiously before the summer recess. But this does not mean it can now relax.

The critical phase of the stabilisation policy has now begun. In order to avoid structural or even pan-economic damage the policy of highly restricted credit must be slackened. By late autumn it could well be too late.

Moreover the Federal Republic, with the hardest currency in the world, has an international obligation. The central bank in Frankfurt must keep an even more watchful eye on the development of the system of bloc-floating within fixed bandwidths in Europe.

The present policy of high interest rates is causing uncertainty among our partners and is undermining their stabilisation moves, which in turn boomerangs back on this country.

Each time interest rates in this country go up the dollar weakens. This applies particularly to the interest rates on the money market. On the other hand the enormous increase in price of our goods on foreign markets has an inflationary effect in these countries. Then we in turn re-import this inflation with steadily rising import prices.

The Mark has been revalued enough. Whether it is over-valued is another matter. But we must always keep the natural conclusion of an economic cycle before our eyes if we are to realise that presumably one of these days the goods we are producing are too expensive for foreigners to buy.

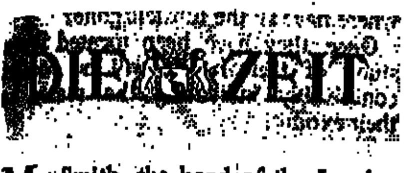
If we are to make sure that the economy cools off gradually we must relax the economic brakes by autumn — or skid into the economic ditch.

Werner Spiegel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 August 1973)

■ FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

The advantages and disadvantages of investment in America



Mr Smith, the head of the London branch of the Westdeutsche Landesbank, said: "If I were a West German businessman I would carefully consider which branch of the economy was most interesting for me and then 'buy' the shares of an American company in that line of business. Sooner or later I would take the company over. It is high time German businessmen invested in the USA."

This young banker, himself an American, gave this advice at a time when the exchange rate of the dollar had fallen below 2.30 Marks and the Dow Jones Index was hovering around 900. He felt that Federal Republic businessmen had never had such a golden opportunity to buy up American companies cheaply, and that this opportunity would only knock once.

But businessmen in this country were not so impetuous as Mr Smith. However, statistics show that the revaluation of the Mark against other currencies is among the main incentives for shifting the centre of production to overseas plant.

In the first quarter of this year alone businesses in this country have invested 2,200 million Marks abroad. The sum invested in these three months was eighty per cent of the total invested in America in 1972.

However, the United States was not the favoured area for Federal Republic overseas investments. That honour goes to The Netherlands. Second comes Spain, then the Canary Islands, Switzerland (much in demand as a location for holding companies), France and Israel. Canada comes next, then Belgium and Luxembourg, and only then the United States.

In the second quarter of this year, on the other hand, the picture changed. The Federal Chambers of Industry and Commerce (DIHT) report a marked increase in interest in the United States as a country for investment. Not all applications to the DIHT, however, reached fruition.

Hesitation at investing beyond the borders of Germany is quite typical of businessmen in this country. The Chambers of Industry and Commerce report that industry in this country is much less willing to invest overseas than other countries of the industrialised world. The main reason, obviously, is the substantial losses incurred twice this century as the result of world wars when German overseas investments were confiscated.

However, this is not the full explanation for the hesitancy of industrialists here to invest in other countries. Germans are noted for being perfectionists and our businessmen are no exception to this rule.

They are not keen to seize the initiative overseas unless their staff are able to give a personal guarantee of success. If the heads of an overseas subsidiary do not enjoy the full confidence of top management in this country it is characteristic of the Federal Republic industrialist to leave well alone for fear of burning his fingers.

Some Federal Republic companies have had some bitter experiences in this respect. One typical case is that of the proprietor of a medium-sized firm in this country who sent his "top man" out to Brazil to set up a subsidiary there. The "top man" was quite unable to cope with the unusual conditions in South America and cracked up under the strain. This proprietor has been bitten and will shy away from such ventures in the future.

But the revaluations of the Mark and the two devaluations of the dollar have caused many companies to rethink the situation. The cost of investments in America for companies based in this country have been cut by forty per cent by these changes in parity. Running costs of companies in the United States are no longer higher than those obtaining in this country.

If the present average hourly wages and salaries in the United States are computed at today's exchange rates for the dollar and Mark the resultant Mark wages bills for employees across the Atlantic make it sound good sense to Federal Republic businessmen to export jobs to America rather than finished goods manufactured in this country.

Only bad businessmen will allow themselves to be influenced by the present favourable exchange rate alone. The slump of the dollar in recent months came as a result of a loss of confidence. It plunged to a low which is bound not to last.

Observers of the currency market feel sure the dollar will make a recovery. They are thinking in terms of an exchange rate of 2.50 to 2.70 Marks to the dollar.

This would mean that once again production in this country would look somewhat more attractive than opening plant across the Atlantic. An additional factor to be taken into account is the round of negotiations between employers and unions due for the autumn in America. The unions are bound to seek handsome compensation for their relative moderation during the Nixon wage freeze.

The main factor that still speaks in favour of producing Statesside is the cost of money. The economic structure of the United States has always meant that capital has been cheaper there than in Europe.

Thus in the long term automation will prove easier in America than in this country, since more cheap capital will be available for purchasing the machines to replace staff. Productivity is bound to rise more rapidly in America than in the Federal Republic, and so in the long run it seems most likely that production costs in this country will rise more steeply than in America, if the signs can be believed.

Thus the Chambers of Industry and Commerce feel that as a long-term investment the shifting of production centres from this country to the United States would be well worth while. An American delegation has been on a visit to the Federal Republic recently. The DIHT, as the host, would like to help break down the psychological barriers still existing between this country's industrialists and overseas investments. But this visit, which will take the American delegation to many major cities in the Federal Republic, is also designed to help companies which already have production centres in America to overcome any problems they have come up against.

Federal Republic parent companies are to be given help in ironing out problems arising in connection with their subsidiaries in the States, and to reduce the number of mistakes being made by these subsidiaries.

One of the difficulties is the strict anti-trust legislation in America, which differs vastly from the regulations in force in this country to control the power of companies with a large slice of the market, and which is also quite different from the latest merger control amendments enforced in this country.

America also has so-called product warranties, which are totally alien to manufacturers in this country. If an American company produces an article which is proved to have caused damage the resultant damages settlement can be massive.

Exchange parities alone must not be taken as the criterion for deciding on whether expansion is to be on home soil or across the water. Only a careful consideration of all aspects of the production process can lead to a company's making the correct decision.

It is precisely for this reason that Volkswagen have been carefully weighing up the pros and cons of opening up a factory in America for months. Weaknesses in company management and company structure have made Volkswagen particularly susceptible to ups and downs in the exchange rates.

Almost seventy per cent of Volkswagen's production is exported, and over one third goes to the United States. Among the main factors for the first two revaluations of the Mark were the obstinate trade balance surpluses which this country could not cut back. For many years Volkswagen had been proud of the fact that it achieved excellent sales overseas. But its high export quota, once a virtue, boomeranged back on VW. When the parities of the Mark and dollar were corrected VW was hit hard.

If direct investments prove to be economically sound they could go a long way towards erasing the embarrassing trade surplus. In the relatively small corner of the world which is the Federal Republic a thriving industrial set-up has been created. In the eyes of the world the goods produced in this country have been value for money and of very high quality. They have been so popular in other countries that exports have gone "like hot cakes".

Five revaluations of the Deutschmark, two devaluations of the dollar and various down-valuations of the franc and sterling have done no serious damage to this country's exports. This country's balance of payments surplus goes on growing and growing.

In the long run the easements on these balance of playments surpluses, such as transfers of money back home by foreign workers, foreign travel and tourism by people from this country and other service industries requiring the expenditure of foreign exchange are not enough to redress the balance.

In 1969 this country was forced to indulge in capital exports on a major scale. But these were by an large portfolio investments. We lent capital to other countries, allowing foreigners to finance their projects with our money. This is a very unreliable way of shortening the balance of payments surpluses, such as more stable method would be to convert these portfolio loans into direct investments overseas.

The United States and Britain know well that the balance of payments is greatly affected when the productivity of foreign subsidiaries is greater than the exportation of goods produced on the home production front.

Productivity of America's overseas subsidiaries is four times as high as American exports of home-produced items. If this proportion were to apply to the Federal Republic our exports of about 150 milliard Marks would have to be matched by productivity of overseas subsidiaries amounting to 600 milliard. In reality the total value of goods produced by subsidiaries abroad is about 23,000 million!

The markets on which this country must gain or maintain a firm footing are

Continued on page 8

Federal Republic direct investments abroad
Proportion of net capital investments in mill. Marks

Region/Country	End 1970	1971	1972
Europe	12,016.3	13,820.8	15,571.6
a) EEC	6,499.0	7,350.9	8,123.6
Efta	4,322.6	4,993.0	5,439.0
others	1,193.7	1,476.9	2,009.1
b) Industrial	10,910.6	12,437.6	13,667.6
Developing	1,104.5	1,382.9	1,903.2
East Bloc	0.2	0.3	0.8
Africa	1,190.9	1,473.3	1,767.7
Industrial	188.0	241.7	270.5
Developing	1,002.9	1,231.6	1,497.2
America	7,137.4	7,649.6	8,088.4
a) North	3,472.7	4,047.7	4,374.8
Central	1,400.3	1,021.4	1,063.5
South	2,264.4	2,480.5	2,650.1
b) Industrial	3,472.7	4,047.7	4,374.8
Developing	3,664.7	3,601.9	3,713.6
Asia	560.8	691.6	910.4
Whole world	20,004.4	22,535.3	26,338.1

Source: Economic Affairs Ministry, Bonn

America's direct investments abroad

Region/Country	1960	1970		
	in $ mill	in %	in $ mill	in %
Canada	11,198	34.1	22,801	29.2
Latin America	9,271	28.3	14,683	18.8
Mexico	795	2.4	1,774	2.3
Brazil	953	2.9	1,843	2.4
Venezuela	2,569	7.8	2,696	3.5
Europe	6,645	20.3	24,471	31.3
EEC (Six)	2,644	8.1	11,695	15.0
Britain	3,194	9.7	8,015	10.3
Other regions	5,652	17.3	16,136	20.7
Africa	925	2.8	3,476	4.5
Asia	2,315	7.1	5,613	7.2
Australia	856	2.6	3,305	4.2
Whole world	32,765	100.0	78,090	100.0
Industrial countries	19,236	58.7	53,111	68.0
Developing countries	12,111	37.0	24,417	31.3
International Organisations	1,418	4.3	562	0.7

Source: HWWA Report No.15

■ TECHNOLOGY

Helgoland sealab experiments with lobsters

DIE WELT

Enlarged and improved in design, the *Helgoland* submarine laboratory has embarked on a new experiment at a depth of 23 metres (75 ft) below the surface of the North Sea.

The old Helgoland consisted of a pressurises cylinder nine and a half metres (31 ft) long and two and a half (eight feet) in diameter. The tube was mounted on four stilts on the seabed..

Experience indicated that the quarters were far too cramped for a crew of four: one professional diver and three scientists who dived under his supervision.

So an annex was added, an extra four and a half metres (fifteen feet) of cylinder under water for storage and changing of diving suits and carrying out experiments intended to be conducted in the wet, as it were.

With the addition of their changing-room, the crew of four can now complete their work on the seabed and return to their living quarters unenecumbered by dripping, waterlogged equipment.

Improvements have also been made to the warning devices that indicate, at home base, whether the carbon monoxide and dioxide counts on board the *Helgoland* are nearing alarming levels.

The original Helgoland contained no warning devices at all. Alarm equipment was added in 1971, but was not up to scratch.

The sealab now features a fully automatic AEG unit that takes continuous measurements of the concentrations of these toxic gases in the air on board and relays its readings to home base via a transmitter in the supply buoy that floats on the surface above the submarine laboratory.

With four years of development behind it (the sealab first took to the water in 1969), the *Helgoland* has now reached the stage where technical hitches have been ironed out and the system is now ready for continuous, regular operation.

The lab is no longer run by a scientific institute intent on research and swift results. Its present owner is a government-run technological facility, the Association for the Exploitation of Nuclear Energy (GKSS) in Geesthacht, near Hamburg.

This formidable name and impressive set of initails with head offices located in a small town 25 miles up the Elbe from Hamburg and hard by the border with the German Democratic Republic is, in fact, merely the government agency responsible for administering, say, the *Otto Hahn*, this country's experimental nuclear merchantman, a reactor-powered ore freighter.

The sealab's complement of scientists and divers merely use the *Helgoland* as a research laboratory. Its complicated equipment is maintained by GKSS engineers and technicians.

In 1969 two research divers at the Helgoland biological research unit met their death underwater. There are good reasons for assuming that a contributory factor was overwork. In addition to their research programme they were supposed to handle, service and – at the time of the tragic accident – prepare for the surfacing of the sealab.

Since the beginning of this year the two functions have been separated. The technical side is managed by GKSS in Geesthacht and the research programmes are conducted by divers and scientists from a variety of institutes. This division of responsibility can hardly fail to improve operations from the safety angle and render research work more efficient.

The new and improved sealab's first research assignment consits of biological experiments with lobsters conducted by Dr Jatzke of the Helgoland biological research unit, together with a programme designed by the Federal Republic Aerospace Research Association to shed light on physiological responses to diving.

The medical and physiological programme will examine the repercussions of stress on aquanauts at work, as indicated by various hormone counts in the blood, and determine the effect on the metabolism of longer periods of time spent well underwater and under exposure to high pressure.

The biological assignment is a follow-up to classical research work on lobsters previously carried out by the Helgoland biological research unit.

For some years attempts have been made to breed lobsters in captivity and ascertain why the number of lobsters off the island is on the decline and lobster larvae and young are no longer in evidence in the vicinity.

Native lobsters, as it were, have been bred alongside American strains. The indigenous variety bears witness to marked traits such as cannibalism. When lobster larvae or young are kept in an enclosed aquarium they eat one another, going about the job so thoroughly that in the end only one – the strongest – is left.

This voracity has nothing to do with hunger. Aquarium lobsters polish one another off regardless of the amount of food available.

Whether the local lobsters eat one another up in their natural habitat regardless whether food is available is another matter. One of the experiments will be to house lobster larvae in perspex domes on the seabed.

The exits to the domes are covered in gauze and so designed to prevent the lobsters from escaping while allowing the tiny sea creatures they eat to enter without let or hindrance.

Another part of the project is to study the lobster larvae as they swim around and ascertain when they reach maturity and settle down on the seabed.

This is an important issue if anything more than an inspired guess is to be made as to where the lobster progeny that used to be found off Heligoland now live.

The larvae are evidently carried away by the current until such time as the young settle down on the seabed. If scientists have determined how long the larvae take to mature they will be nearer to finding an answer to the question that originally prompted the entire exercise: Where have all the lobsters gone?

Once they have been located further study of their habits will be possible, conceivably indicating the reason for their exodus.

This underwater observation programme will be conducted partly by divers and partly by closed-circuit TV camera set up alongside the perspex domes.

With everything ready to move into operation Dr Jatzke of the research unit has been confronted with a minor but urgent problem. The mating period of Heligoland lobsters has come to an end. The season is over and local larvae are not to be had for love or money.

Instead he has had mating lobsters express airmailed from America in order to be able to start his experiments with freshly hatched larvae. *Harald Steinert*

(Die Welt, 15 August 1973)

Investment in America

Continued from page 7

growing all the time. But if our industries have to transport all that they sell abroad across borders that is exportation and means an influx of foreign exchange. If West German industry took a proportion of its production potential overseas export markets could be served without our balance of payments being thrown even more out of joint.

America, with its overvalued dollar, has been exporting factories rather than products for a long time. The change in the balance of currency parities will mean a reversal of this trend. American companies will presumably be unable to continue their expansion in Europe throughout the seventies at the level they have maintained in the past. Our entrepreneurs on the other hand will almost certainly take this opportunity to make up for lost time. *Rudolf Herlt*

(Die Zeit, 17 August 1973)

Last minute agreement on European space cooperation

Charles Hanin, Belgium's Minister of Scientific Research, was determined not to let his opposite numbers from ten European countries off the hook as easily as on a recent previous occasion when the European space conference was adjourned because a number of delegations were not fully empowered to negotiate.

This time he interviewed the various delegations singly. After spending hours being "cross-examined in the confessional box," as delegates bemusedly called this unorthodox procedure, the definitive financial backing for European space plans was still not certain, but total collapse had at least been averted.

By 14 September Italy, Sweden, Norway and Denmark are to decide whether and to what extent they are prepared to share the estimated 3,000 million Marks the European space research programme will cost over the next six to eight years.

Then, and then only, will it be apparent whether there is any fresh hope for Europe's space research ambitions, the prospects for which nose-dived into the Atlantic in November 1971 after a last unsuccessful launching of the Europa II co-production launcher rocket.

By then the eleven European countries (the Common Market members with the exception of Luxembourg and Ireland, plus Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and Spain) will have concluded an agreement with the United States on participation in the Post-Apollo Programme.

The United States has held the offer open for four years and extended the final deadline to 15 August 1973. Failing a European commitment by this deadline the Americans will award skylab contracts for the post-1980 space shuttle to American firms instead.

Now that M. Hanin has succeeded in ensuring some measure of European cooperation the Eleven are in a position, subject to the final approval for the four waverers, to take up the American offer.

Should financial contributions fail to be forthcoming from Rome, Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen, however, the European aerospace industry will do more than miss out on important contracts.

The present arrangement represents a compromise between demands and counter-demands amounting in many cases to virtual blackmail. If any of the four waverers back down the whole settlement is in jeopardy.

This country felt cooperation with the United States to be the most advantageous means of offsetting the demise of Eldo and ensuring a European stake in space research. France, on the other hand, offered to jointly develop another rocket, the L3S..

The new rocket is designed to put satellites into orbit after 1980 in place of the defunct Europa III, which was scrapped while still on the drawing-board. Britain, which used to be an ardent advocate of a European launcher rocket but has been more sceptical since 1970, did not enthuse about the French proposal.

Britain was not all that keen about cooperating with the Americans either. Instead, Whitehall suggested the construction of a maritime navigational satellite that goes by the abbreviation Marots.

Each of these three countries has no lack of arguments in favour of its respective proposal but, on its own, is short of cash and dependent on the others for financial support.

Bonn was prepared to shoulder half the cost of the post-Apollo skylab and Paris was willing to foot sixty per cent of the L3S bill. But each country was only prepared to cooperate with the others on condition that they helped finance its own brainchild.

The French agreed to foot ten per cent of the skylab bill (totalling an estimated 1,200 million Marks) while Bonn has agreed to contribute 380 million Marks towards the L3S, which will cost an estimated total of 1,500 million.

"They (the French) can no longer back down," a member of the Bonn delegation commented. "Otherwise we would have to cancel our contribution towards the development of the rocket to plug the gap."

Much the same arrangement has been made in respect of the British satellite project, towards which Whitehall would prefer to contribute a mere fifty per cent.

In return for British commitment to cooperate on the L3S and the skylab the French and the Germans are to contribute twenty and 25 per cent respectively towards estimated project expenditure of 240 million Marks in all.

Again in the words of a member of the Bonn delegation: "If the British play awkward over L3S they can wave goodbye to our stake in Marots."

This complex of mutual interest has been hailed by French Minister Jean Charbonnel as a "victory for Europe."

In theory, however, the Balkan bargaining on the launching pad could yet come unstuck because Italy is undergoing budgetary troubles and it is either all or none as far as the three programmes are concerned.

But conference chairman M. Hanin of Belgium dismissed this possibility. "I am sure that Italy will not go back on its commitment," he said.

Hans-Hagen Bremer

(Die Zeit, 10 August 1973)

■ THEATRE

German theatre in exile reviewed

Five German-language theatres operated in Shanghai, Buenos Aires had its *Freie Deutsche Bühne* while the drama ensemble of Mexico's Heinrich Heine Club staged the world premieres or at least the first American performances of German plays.

Information such as this and other oddities dating from World War Two, period can be culled from Hans-Christoph Wächter's *Theater im Exil* published by Hauser Verlag, Munich, at 29.80 Marks.

Wächter, dramatic adviser to Münster Theatre, has attempted to provide the first comprehensive picture of the German theatre in exile with all the complexities this subject entails. He has made an important contribution to the ever-increasing study of literature produced by German writers in exile.

Wächter confronts readers with largely unknown or previously unpublished material and rebuts the widespread opinion that, in direct contrast to literature, there was no German theatre in exile.

When they hear the term theatre in exile persons interested in literature think primarily of Bert Brecht and his unsuccessful or at least unsatisfactory attempts to lease a theatre in the various countries of his exile and stage one of his "model productions".

But besides Brecht there were a large number of exiles trying to continue German theatre traditions in their own particular way and attempting to use it to reveal the true nature of National Socialism, as Wächter reveals in his book.

Fortunately, Wächter has not restricted himself to collecting and presenting the available material on this subject – which would have been commendable in itself – but has also analysed data concerning the productions of German ensembles, the plays written in exile, the actors and producers involved, audiences and the response in the various centres where the exiles tended to congregate.

Specific claims can be made for each of the host countries and by piecing together this heterogeneous information Wächter finally provides readers with the overall picture he aimed to produce.

Czechoslovakia was probably the most liberal of these countries and although German exiles were confronted by a German minority that was largely National Socialist inclined they were able to achieve a great deal before Hitler finally invaded the country.

Emigrants faced far greater difficulties in France, where Paris became the initial home for all these displaced persons, and Britain where the theatre in exile could only operate on a short-term, decentralised basis.

German theatres in Denmark and Sweden were far more important. The Social Democrat governments of these countries gave the refugees from the Third Reich more than just sympathy. In many cases the exiles cooperated with amateur ensembles or groups of workers.

A German State Theatre under Erwin Piscator was planned for the Ukrainian town of Engels. Drama in the United States is still influenced by the accomplishments of the German exiles and there were also emigrant centres in South America.

All in all, there was a broad range of theatrical productions, drama readings and other theatre activities – all carried out in the adverse conditions of emigré life. Economic and financial difficulties always threatened and they were often accompanied by political and bureaucratic difficulties as well.

Wächter does not conceal the fact that the quality of these theatre productions was not always ideal, even though there were occasionally excellent performances which were acclaimed not only by the German colony but also by the theatre world of the host country.

Wächter also treats the whole complex of the German theatre in exile as a good basis for analysing the problems of an intellectual elite living under the adverse conditions of emigration.

Willem P. Engel

(Kieler Nachrichten, 9 August 1973)

Peter Zadek – his plans for the future at Bochum

Peter Zadek can look back upon his first twelve months as head of Bochum's theatre with satisfaction. Announcing his plans for the 1973-74 season, he commented: "The past year took a lot out of us but it also gave us immense pleasure. The average age of audiences dropped and 25 per cent more children's and students' tickets were sold. That's fine. But we also wish to keep our former audiences – the older generation – and not turn them away from the theatre."

Zadek claimed that the theatre must be a place where different generations can meet. "I am really glad that most of those persons who attended the theatre in the past have remained loyal," he commented.

These are fine-sounding words – but Zadek did not touch upon the spirit of unrest that is spreading through theatres in the Ruhr. He only made passing mention of the new subscription scheme he introduced at Bochum theatre.

"The introduction of the new scheme resulted in controversy and a good deal of disappointment," Zadek admitted. "But selling 8,070 books of tickets the subscriber can use at any time and attracting a further 5,221 regulars under our traditional subsctiption scheme is not to be sneezed at."

Zadel's stage version of Fallada's novel *Kleiner Mann* was the best runner last season with 53 performances to its credit. It was followed by Zadek's version of *The Merchant of Venice* with 27, Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* with 25 and Tankred Dorst's *Eiszeit* which was performed 23 times.

Hitlers Dienstmädchen (I was Hitler's Maidservant), advertised as a "sado-porno-Nazi-strip" played to packed audiences in Zadek's "Underground Theatre" and will return in the coming season.

Zadek also outlined his other plans for the next twelve months. Ulrich Wildgruber is to play King Lear in a production based on Karsten Schälike's new translation of Shakespeare's play. Lola Müthel is to star in Chekov's *Seagull.*

Kurt Weill's musical *Johnny Johnson* – America's answer to *Schweik* – is to be given its German premiere. Zadek will also present a stage version of Heinrich Mann's *Professor Unrat* (The Blue Angel). Günter Lüders will star as the professor.

Werner Schroeter is to return from the film world and resume his work for Bochum theatre by directing Ibsen's *Rosmersholm.* Hannelore Hoger will make her debut as producer by staging Kroetz' Stallerhof.

There will also be a new Tankred Dorst play, for which no title has so far been found, D. H. Lawrence's *A Collier's Friday Night* and Michael Weller's *Grant's Movie.* The last two plays are being given their German premiere.

Wilm Falcke

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 August 1973)

Bayreuth – a meeting place for young people

Bayreuth has organised an International Youth Festival every August for the past 23 years – bang in the middle of the Wagner Festival for which the town is famous.

This clash is no coincidence. Herbert Barth, the organiser of the International Youth Festival, has been the Richard Wagner Festival's public relations officer since 1952.

Barth, born in Erfurt, started arranging concerts at the age of eighteen before the advent of National Socialism put an end to his job. When he was released from a French prisoner of war camp in 1946 he arranged the first concerts of this troubled era in and around Bayreuth.

He was even asked by Edgar Richter, the son of the prominent conductor Hans Richter, to organise a series of concerts for the Berlin Philharmonic. The musicians had to be smuggled out of Berlin into what was then the American zone.

Barth launched the Bayreuth Festival of Modern Music in 1947, an event that was later transferred to Darmstadt. His prime aim was to end the period of isolation that young Germans had suffered and establish international contacts. He has succeeded in achieving this end via the International Bayreuth Youth Festival.

Thanks to his efforts, students from Eastern Europe has been able to attend the Festival for the past fifteen years. Their number is growing annually. No other city in the Federal Republic can claim to hear so much modern Eastern European music. This year only the Czechs were refused exit visas to attend.

This year's Festival with its various courses, concerts and Wagner seminars (including of course visits to the Wagner Festival) was attended for the first time by young musicians from Egypt, Algeria and Lebanon. The standard has risen so much that the 1972 Festival was able to stage a much-acclaimed production of Wagner's *Liebesverbot.*

The Youth Festival does not merely feature modern music and Wagner operas. This year an exhibition of modern American graphical works has been organised. The list of persons heading the courses include such prominent persons as conductors Boulez and Zender, drama producer Götz Friedrich and percussionist Robert Hinze.

Herbert Barth's greatest wish for the future is that the foundation stone for an arts centre can be laid in Bayreuth in 1975 on the 25th anniversary of the International Youth Festival.

The arts centre will serve as a meeting-place for the young and will also organise the Youth Festival. The students themselves will be responsible for planning and equipping the centre. The city of Bayreuth has already announced its support for the scheme and promised the necessary site.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 13 August 1973)

Writers affiliate with Printing and Paperworkers trade union

Writers in the Federal Republic are looking to the future with high expectations now that their affiliation to the Printing and Paper Workers Trade Union appears only a matter of formalities and the "solidarity of individualists" proclaimed at the Writers Association congress in Stuttgart in 1971 and practised ever since has borne its fruits.

This is indicated in a series of documents on the second congress in Hamburg last January – where it was decided to affiliate with the trade union – which the Writers Association (VS) has had published by Kindler Verlag of Munich. Siegfried Lenz's demand for writers in the Federal Republic to cease being the outsiders of society and to become insiders instead seems to be near fruition.

Of the 303 delegates entitled to vote at the Hamburg congress as many as 275 elected to join the union while only nineteen opposed this move and nine abstained. The reason for this near unanimity was nothing to do with the skilful manipulation by VS officials as critics tried to claim.

Instead, this emergence of solidarity in the writers' camp – which would have been unbelievable at any other time – resulted from their justifiable belief that the writer's position was anything but satisfactory. "I support affiliation to a trade union as the time is ripe for it," is how Günter Grass put it.

Heinrich Böll said at the Stuttgart congress two years ago that attempts to inspire solidarity among individualists had nothing to do with trying to make them conform to one line.

Chancellor Willy Brandt indirectly shone some light on the two sides of the coin – the marriage of convenience between trade unionists and men of letters – when he exclaimed: "Freedom is not to be had without risk."

The first decisive step taken by the Hamburg Congress is of particular significance for the establishment of a future trade union for the mass media. The historical pressure referred to by VS chairman Dieter Lattman plays an important role.

The self-confidence of writers in this country has also grown considerably. One of the main reasons for this may have been Chancellor Brandt's assurance that good policy needs literature as a verbal corrective.

The documents published by the VS reveal that Günter Grass demanded affiliation to a trade union as far back as early June 1969 when the Writers Association was first set up in Cologne. The ideas of the VS could be compared from the very outset to those of a trade union.

"Organise what can be organised," is how Gregor-Dellin put it. "Assuage everbody's fears that they will not remain free as a writer. They will only be free when they have protection."

Leonhard Mahlein, head of the Printing and Paper Workers Trade Union stressed that the decision of the VS members meant that the trade union for the mass media was beginning to take shape.

All in all, it appears that these developments cannot be reversed – unless of course writers abandon their demands concerning the laws of copyright and the establishment of an old age pension scheme. Writers no longer live in an ivory tower but are dependent on market forces.

Alexander Bauer

(Nordwest Zeitung, 15 August 1973)

■ THINGS SEEN

African and Oceanic art in Stuttgart

At the exhibition "Images of People in Alien Cultures" organised by the Württembergischer Kunstverein, Stuttgart, African and Oceanic heads and bodies do not appear as aliens but as the Family of Man.

Art historians and ethnologists did not treat the work of art from the Congo, the lost kingdom of Benin and New Guinea as the works of primitives, which they would have been regarded as in the Thousand Year Reich and elsewhere.

These works of art have also overcome the other extreme, going beyond the thick lips and bulging eyes to a "transcendental spiritual" expression.

When viewing the masks, spirits, funerary figures and fetishes the visitor can see that this is the world of Vlaminck, Apollinaire, Braque and Picasso, all of whom achieved "miraculous liberation" from the art of the people of Africa and the Pacific.



A mask from Cameroun

(Photos: Linden-Museum/Didoni)

Studying this art freed them from the chains of realism and paved the way for "conceptual art."

Pictures from the northern Sudan and the Congo, for example, feature bodies resolved into cubes, circles, right-angles and other geometric conceptions. As Cezanne came to realise, this art took any form that could be modelled geometrically.

Friedrich Kuszmaul from the Linden Museum for Ethnology, Uwe M. Schneede from the Württembergischer Kunstverein and the two experts Dieter Heintze (a specialist on the South Seas) and Hans-Joachim Kolosz (a specialist on Africa) have pointed out in their well illustrated catalogue that the Cubists at the turn of the century opened our eyes to the shapes and colours of the artists of the black continents.

How remarkable to note that precisely at the moment when all kinds of evil on Africa are being heaped on the shoulders of the Portuguese that it was the Portuguese in the fifteenth century who created the first bridge of peace and that Mbemba, King of the Congo, addressed King Manuel of Portugal as "my royal brother". At that time there was a free exchange of people between Portugal and central Africa. It was the age of slave trading that destroyed everything, and from the wreckage arose the smoke of prejudice about "primitives with no history".

The light bronzes, brasswork and ivory masks from Benin on the lower Niger provide an indication of the prosperity and urban civilisation of the early kingdom. Just like the artists of the European Baroque the masters of the Cameroun grasslands were filled with ideas. They created stools and chairs with legs in the shape of men bearing the seats. A wooden beggar-woman is seen stretching out her cup to the visitor. We see the Bamileke King on crouching dogs, the Queen showing her first son in the same style as any portrait of royalty where a king commissions an artists to capture the birth of his heir. Many of the works in the exhibition come from Cameroun since the Linden Museum possesses many works of art from the former German colony. The Cameroun exhibition underlines clearly that African art combines strength with originality and individuality. Ethnologist Hans Himmelheber from Heidelberg added an original idea of his own to the exhibition. He commissioned artists of various tribes to do a portrait of him. They produced masks which are more or less typical of the particular tribe and show that the artists follow set rules which are nevertheless able to convey an astonishing likeness of the European model. Oceanic art is numerically less well represented at the exhibition. But it still manages to outdo the African section strength. A skull trophy from New Guinea has nose and eye sockets filled with pithy wood and the wooden jaw is surrounded by a beard artistically woven from seaweed. One is tempted to say that whoever this skull belonged to could take consolation for his premature end, since presumably he was not of such a striking appearance in his lifetime.

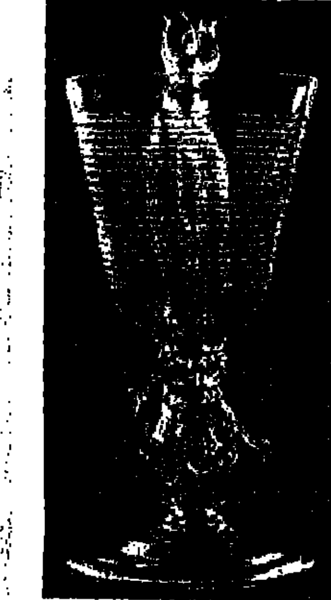
Walter Pfuhl

(Die Welt, 13 August 1973)



A richly carved hatchet from Oceania





Items from the Krug collection

(Photo: Katalog)

Krug glass collection displayed in Cologne

Lübecker Nachrichten

Eight years ago at Essen's Folkwang Museum the exhibition of about 430 glass objects from the Helfried Krug collection revealed to the international art world that this was one of the most important and qualitatively unique collections of glass in Europe.

Helfried and Jopie Krug from Düsseldorf and Baden-Baden had been collecting glass for twenty years and had built up a collection of well over 750 items.

Thus it was high time to organise an exhibition of the second part of this internationally famous collection, scientifically cataloguing the 320 new pieces acquired.

The exhibition follows in the wake of the sixth international glass congress of the *Association international pour l'histoire du verre*, held this year in Cologne, on German soil for the first time.

At Cologne's Arts and Crafts Museum the glass collection of Helfried Krug is one of the highlights of visual art this summer on the Rhine. It covers just about all aspects of turning glass into a work of art from the Late Middle Ages to the nineteenth century.

The exhibition confirms what the congress had done its best to convey, namely that the art of turning glass into a thing of beauty was an independent activity in the hierarchy of the arts. It is an autonomous art and cannot be regarded as a craft in any belittling sense.

Working in glass was an art known to Antiquity. It was common in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Rhine area colonised by the Romans, where it reached in high degree of technical perfection. Then the art died out, and was forgotten for more than a millenium. It was re-discovered about 1600 at the court of Rudolf II in Prague. The new acquisitions of the Krug collection include a few items from the first and second centuries AD superscribed "Antiquity and Islamic Glass". They are mostly blown glass vessels for holding liquids.

Then comes the leap into the late fifteenth century and the fascinating world of drinking vessels with fantastic decorations.

One highlight of the collection is the section devoted to Venetian glass and the richly represented Baroque glass from German and Bohemian cut glass manufacturers.

The Baroque period favoured cup shapes, particularly with a motif of arms.

There are many exhibits of the glass mugs of middle-classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are designed with animals and hunting scenes, heraldic motifs and many religious themes. These motifs were common for nearly two hundred years.

They are followed by nineteenth century drinking glasses with gold rims decorated with Biedermeier views of cities.

Brightly coloured goblets painted in enamels with exotic flowers, Chinese motifs and flying fishes became popular and in the Dutch pieces of this era the emancipation of glass work as an art is characteristic. Each individual piece in the Krug collection would today cost on average 3,000 Marks.

All the big names in glass-working in Germany are represented, Schwinger, Killinger, Mäuerl, Friedrich Winter, Schneider, Spiller, Rosbach, Biemann and Friedrich Siebenhaar.

Wolfgang Stauch-von Quitzow

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 10 August 1973)

■ MEDICINE

Job monotony causes mental sickness

Well-known hospital specialists estimate that some thirty per cent of patients admitted to hospital are not organically sick but are suffering from a mentally-induced complaint.

The number of patients admitted to regional hospitals with psychopathic and abnormal reactions amounts to not much less than twenty per cent and three per cent of the members of voluntary insurance schemes are suffering from psychoneuroses and psychopathic complaints. A quarter of them need treatment lasting anything between six months and a year.

Doctors in general practice can confirm these statistics. The percentage of mental and nervous complaints is if anything higher in their surgeries.

The situation is no better in Britain. About thirty per cent of all cases of sick leave can be attributed to mental causes. For every true mental patient in the United States there are no less than eight with neuroses and personality changes.

Specialists believe that this alarming increase in mental disease can be attributed to the modern production process which has changed working methods and daily routine for the worse. Both physical and mental health is jeopardised.

Professor Ewald Gerfeldt of the Institute for Social Hygiene, Career Advice and Industrial Medicine in Bad Godesberg recently stated that contemporary psycho-hygiene must try to make the environmental factors and influences of modern life conform more closely to the amount of strain that a person can stand.

This is more easily said than done. An unhealthy restlessness and subsequently a feeling of subconscious fear is instilled into people by the hectic nature of our lives, the striving for success, the pressures imposed by consumer society, merciless competition, the resulting tendency to overexert oneself, the uniform style of life, the desire for prestige and recognition, technology, automation and the conviction drummed into them day in day out that they will miss something if they don't act in such a way or acquire a certain item. This fear is not motivated by any tangible factors such as war, terror, radiation, cancer, heart disease or the loss of all possessions.

These motivations would at least be plausible — but it is hard to understand the type of fear that is instilled in the psyche and arises from there for no apparent reason.

It is this existential fear that prepares the way for mental disorders. Its roots are extremely complex. The individual ego and the sphere around it is always thought to be in danger.

Man fears in his subconscious mind any threat to his individual nature, the tendency for human beings to become a soulless faceless mass and the insecurity of an age in which all values are changing.

The average person's living and working conditions doubtlessly encourage these fears. Any person of normal mental health wants to give his life as much meaning as possible through his own active productivity. But workers today no longer see the end product of their labours. They are more or less cogs in one vast machine.

Anxiety about having made a mess of one's life and of having failed to carry out one's duties correctly is therefore one of the reasons for the subconscious existential fear to be found deep in the psyche.

This symptom is accompanied by the threat to individual responsibility. The outcome is a flight into the world of alcohol, nicotine or narcotics.

This is no exaggeration. In the Federal Republic alone there are about half a million alcoholics who ought to be under hospital treatment. More than one hundred milliard cigarettes are smoked every year.

Drug addiction is excessive, there are forty thousand suicide attempts every year, the crime rate continues to increase and a rising number of marriages end in divorce.

Mental disease has assumed such proportions today that specialists have estimated that one person in a hundred needs hospital treatment. Unfortunately fewer than one hundred thousand beds are available at the 150 special institutions in this country.

The Institute for Social Hygiene drew up a revealing set of figures to illustrate the current situation. Private expenditure on cars amounts to 28 milliard Marks annually. People spend 20.2 milliards on alcohol, 12.1 milliards on tobacco and 9.5 millards on holidays. Public expenditure on the building and maintenance of hospitals only totals 2.4 milliard Marks.

The shortage of beds for the mentally sick should lead to greater use of out-patients' treatment prescribed by a doctor with psychotherapeutic training. But once again the sufferer's condition proves an obstacle.

The egocentricity of the mentally sick who avoid exploring the internal psyche of another individual and the reluctance to establish contact that this causes makes the sufferer want to avoid visiting a psychiatrist.

If a sufferer does consult a psychiatrist it is done in complete secrecy. In the Old World a visit to the psychiatrist can bring a person into discredit for being "mad", apart from the considerable costs psychiatric treatment entails.

Things are different in America. Any family who thinks anything of itself has its own family psychiatrist. A frank and honest talk can often provide effective help, especially as extremely efficient new methods of psychotherapy have been developed in recent years. Every doctor knows from experience that half the battle, is won when patients are encouraged to talk about their mental conflicts.

Social psychohygiene and social welfare must also help. Professor Ewald Gerfeldt claims they must aim at avoiding mental damage and resulting false development in childhood. They must rid puberty conflicts of any explosive content, ensure that mental shocks in adults do not lead to addiction, suicide or marital breakdown and finally persuade old people that they are not abandoned, lonely and helpless.

Gerhard Venzmer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 August 1973)

Electrical impulses relieve bladder disorders

Paraplegics and multiple sclerosis patients with disorders of the bladder caused by the damage to their nervous system can be treated by subjecting the spinal cord to electrical impulses.

Professor Hufschmidt of Bonn University's Hospital for Neurosurgery reports in the medical journal *Klinische Wochenschrift* that he has so far treated 81 patients with neurogenic bladder disorders in this fashion.

Four anodes are attached to the upper sections of the spinal cord and rhythmic electrical impulses, each lasting some one and a half second, are transmitted for a total period of six minutes. The treatment is repeated at weekly intervals for anything up to five weeks.

The bladder's controlling mechanism was fully restored in 73 of the cases, usually after only two courses of treatment. The reestablishment of the function evidently depends on normalising the sensation of the bladder filling, the desire to urinate and the flow of urine.

Months have passed since these 81 cases and the effects have still not worn off. The length of time the bladder did not function properly evidently had no influence on the success of the treatment.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 August 1973)

Holiday diarrhoea caused by stress

Holiday tummy, the feared outcome of trips to foreign countries, is caused largely by nerves, Professor F.O. Höring writes in the medical periodical *Umweltmedizin*. Infection alone is not usually sufficient to promt these attacks of diarrhoea.

Other important, though often overlooked causes of holiday diarrhoea can be indifference, anxiety or an inability to adapt to the changes in nutrition or the environment, he claims.

Only twenty per cent of cases of holiday diarrhoea are prompted by the bacteria that typically cause the complaint.

Holiday tummy is usually preceded by the stress which often cannot be avoided as a result of the rapid changes in environment. The functioning of the intestines is disturbed and this in its turn encourages bacterial infection.

As the most important cause of holiday diarrhoea are stress and physical strain the complaint soon disappears if the patient is forced to rest, with or without drugs.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 July 1973)

Anti- snoring advice

People who snore can be cured by being made to sleep on their stomachs. As medical textbooks pay little attention to the whole problem of snoring Munich University Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic decided to examine eight hundred people who admit they snore.

It was found that snoring is caused by a blockage in nasal respiration. Past experience has however revealed that operating on these blockages does not always stop the patient snoring.

As many as 83 per cent of the patients examined in Munich admitted to sleeping on their back or side, which is said to lead to snoring. Many cases of insomnia can be attributed to these sleeping positions.

The Ear, Nose and Throat Clinic recommends sleeping on the stomach as the chin and jaw does not prevent nasal respiration and the mouth remains closed. There is therefore little chance of snoring when sleeping on one's stomach.

(Handelsblatt, 13 August 1973)

Waiting lists for patients in need of complex surgery

Patients needing complex surgery are often forced to wait a matter of months or years. Many large hospitals have drawn up waiting lists. Heart operations involving the use of heart and lung machines, kidney transplants, tonsilectomies and the fitting of false joints are often subject to long delays.

Waiting lists of up to six months are looked upon as "almost normal" at large hospitals in Baden-Württemberg. But all hospitals and health departments covered by a survey conducted by the press agency *dpa* stressed that urgent cases could be operated upon at once.

In Hamburg alone there is a waiting list of about one thousand for operations involving the use of the city's only heart and lung machine. An extension to the intensive care unit of the University Hospitals heart surgery department has enabled doctors to increase their capacity to eight operations a week or some four hundred a year.

Heart patients in Hanover only have to wait the relatively short period of four months. But the city's Medical College fears a deterioration of the current situation and waiting lists of a year of more. Patients in Bavaria have to wait anything up to twelve months before any operation involving a heart and lung machine.

Patients requiring an artificial joint, often a hip, are far worse off than heart patients in most Federal states. Though their complaints do not involve any threat to life, they are usually painful.

One hospital in Stuttgart has a two and a half year waiting list for these patients. Five hundred persons a year can have artificial hips fitted in Erlangen but there are still 1,500 patients waiting for this operation. Nuremberg's Wichernhaus clinic has 225 beds but 3,500 orthopaedic patients on its waiting list.

The situation is not much better in other Federal states. Patients in the Saar have to wait anything up to two years for an artificial hip. In Dortmund the delay can be as long as three years.

Professor Schöller of Münster Orthopaedic Clinic belives that children with hip damage or club-feet could suffer permanent damage later in life as a result of these delays. Hanover Medical College has a waiting list of over one year and now refuses to add any more patients to it.

Hamburg's health department claims that the patients themselves cannot be completely freed from blame. "Patients needlessly accept delays of up to four years in order to consult a specific specialist," a spokesman commented.

The number of patients waiting for an operation at the city's St Georg hospital is estimated to total several hundred. But hip operations are conducted immediately at another of the city's hospitals, the spokesman added.

Waiting lists do not only exist for complicated operations. There are also delays in taking out tonsils in some large hospitals. Patients at Berlin's Steglitz Clinic are forced to wait eight weeks, those in Bremen anything up to four months.

Ear, nose and throat operations at University hospitals in the Saar are booked out for the whole of 1973. Patients requiring an operation against squinting have to wait eight weeks in Berlin.

The long waiting lists for operations are due to the shortage of staff, beds and, at some hospitals, appropriate technical equipment. In Schleswig-Holstein for instance there are too few beds. Medical facilities in Essen cannot be fully utilised because of the shortage of personnel. Erlangen University Hospital could conduct more heart operations if it had more nurses.

The kidney transplant situation is a little different. Patients with serious kidney complaints have to wait anything up to three years for a transplant in Hanover and are kept alive during this period by an artificial kidney machine. Doctors claim that there would be no delay if only there were enough people willing to donate their kidneys after their death.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 15 August 1973)

■ SCIENTIFIC WORLD

Konrad Lorenz condemns anti-authoritarian methods

NRZ NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG

Professor Konrad Lorenz, the well known behavioural scientist and head of the Max Planck Institute in Seewiesen, Upper Bavaria, has come to the conclusion that anti-authoritarian education is "criminal".

Speaking at the Salzburg University Festival, Professor Lorenz claimed that the weakening of contacts between parents and children was one of those factors posing the greatest threat to civilisation. His lecture was entitled "The Pathology of Civilisation and Freedom of Culture".

Lorenz backed up his claim by pointing out that children could no longer observe their father at work but looked upon him more as a person who came home every evening in a state of fatigue or irritation. Children look upon their mother as the most ignoble person they know as she has to do all the dirty work in the home.

Parents no longer say anything when a child breaks the glass of their aquarium, Lorenz claimed, but bottle up their emotions and refuse to punish the child in case they are branded as authoritarian. But how is the child to know how to behave if his parents do not tell him, Lorenz asks.

On the other hand a child with the knack of reading other persons' faces will feel that it is hated for its misbehaviour even though its parents are otherwise calm. A child who is brought up by anti-authoritarian methods therefore lives in a hostile world, Lorenz claims.

Lorenz believes that one of the most alarming features of modern civilisation is the way younger generations in different countries have come to resemble each other.

He claims that young people today behave towards the older generation like an ethnic group. The hostility of the younger generation for the older generation is illustrated in their choice of clothing.

"Young people do not wear what they like but only what is calculated to annoy the older generation," Lorenz comments. Lorenz also sees a danger in the fact that the variety of different cultures in the world has fallen victim to conformity.

Development ceases or is even reversed in the animal world when the pressure of one-sided selection bears down upon a creature. Human civilisation will also decline as lies and deceit have taken the place of adequate selection. "A person who can lie and deceive better that the rest will get ahead," Lorenz comments.

Human beings — the word human is derived from the same root as humane — will only have a chance of developing further if they give up their aim of economic growth and their fetish for financial wealth.

Lorenz pointed out time and again in his critical speech that all problems facing contemporary society were basically ethical problems. Man must curb his desires if the development of Mankind is not to faulter.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 10 August 1973)

Nobelprizewinner Karl Ziegler dies

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Nobel Prizewinner Karl Ziegler died recently at the age of 74. His influence on the theory and practice of modern chemistry was unparalleled. When head of the Max Planck Institute for Coal Research in Mülheim he managed to convert ethyl gas into high-molecular synthetic material under normal pressure and at a relatively low temperature.

He made his discovery in 1953 — it is still the most important method of manufacturing synthetics today — and brought to an end the purely experimental research in this sector. The synthetics age could begin.

Ziegler first used aluminium alcyl and zircon salt as a catalyst in this manufacturing process. Later he developed a whole series of further substances to control chemical reactions from case to case as desired. Metal alcyls of this type are today generally classified as Ziegler catalysts.

Ten years after his decisive breakthrough — his method is now used throughout the world — Professor Ziegler shared the Nobel Prize for Chemistry with Professor Giulio Natta of Milan who had added to Ziegler's work by evolving a method of influencing the internal structure of the molecule.

It was not only in the scientific sector that Karl Ziegler was successful. His income from the rights and patents on his inventions and methods made him so rich that he was able to set up a forty-million-Mark foundation on his seventieth birthday. Most of the money went to the Max Planck Institute in Mülheim which he headed until 1969.

(Photo: dpa)

Ziegler was the 21st of the 22 German chemists awarded the Nobel Prize. Professor Manfred Eigen received it three years after Ziegler.

The Nobel Prize for Chemistry was the highest award made to Ziegler as one of the pioneers of the synthetic age, but it was not the only distinction he received.

A large number of universities both at home and abroad awarded him an honorary degree, he was a member of the *pour le mérite* order and a holder of the Federal Cross of Merit.

Perhaps the most unusual distinction ever to have been accorded to a scientist was when the Ponca tribe of Oklahoma made him their honorary chief.

Jürgen Schmitz-Feuck

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 August 1973)

■ OUR WORLD

The women who man the pumps

One of the male's last bastions has fallen. One hundred and twenty years after the establishment of the first voluntary fire brigade in Germany women have now entered the service. The reason for this development is that in many local governments not enough men are coming forward for the service.

If the fire alarm is sounded in Oberlibbach in Hesse or Breitenburg-Nordoe in Schleswig-Holstein housewives drop their dusters and cashiers desert the cash register. In a matter of seconds they are dressed in the uniform of a fireman with the belt, a fireman's axe, rescue lines, oxygen mask and whistles. They put on helmets with a wide brim at the back to protect the neck.

Many small communities on the edge of large towns and cities have followed the example of Breitenburg and Oberlibbach, "Many men have given up their small farms and have taken jobs in the cities, which means the fireman volunteers are not available during the day in cases of emergency. This means that when fire-fighting is called for women have had to step into the breach," Dorothea Schneider, a teacher by profession in Hamm, is the first women to be in the fire brigade association.

Last year 745,740 men operating 19,933 voluntary fire-fighting services dealt with 779,860 incidents from major fire alarms, fires involving oil and road accidents, but could not, it is reluctantly admitted today, have done all this if it had not been for women's participation.

In the fire brigade association's statistics last year 600 women were listed as being in voluntary brigades. Dorothea Schneider said: "I am sure that in fact more women are taking part." Many fire-fighting brigades only list the 'men' who are included, even if the 'man' happens to be a woman.

The law only talks of "firemen" Dorothea Schneider commented: "In some Federal states the regulations will not allow women to participate in fire brigades."

But Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia are in keeping with the times. In regulations in these two states reference is made to "fire-fighting personnel".

Dorothea Schneider intends to make an appeal at the next firemen's conference in Mainz on 15 September to induce even local authorities that have no shortage of males for local fire fighting services to allow women to join brigades. She says: "Many women are of my view that what a man can do a woman can also tackle. Furthermore many boys and girls who have been together at school would like to be involved in some activity in which they can continue to be together. And finally it is a woman's nature to want to help when people are in need."

But many men in the fire brigades who see tradition and the sense of comradeship being undermined are diplomatically reminded by the women: "We don't want to be a threat to men but we would like to lighten their burdens in such sectors as telephone communications, health services and administration." For this reason women members are given the designation "Fire brigade assistant". When they have passed a period of training they can be promoted to senior assistant and then "trained fire-fighter".

It will not be long before woman are captains of a fire brigade.

Dorothea Schneider, who works in the telecommunications sector, is well aware of the male propensity to discipline. The captain of her fire brigade, Klaus Schneider, is a judge — and her husband.

Dorothea Schneider commented: "When men work together they eventually become surly and biased. When women take part they will find that comradeship comes back and is cherished all the more."

Axel Sparten

(Welt am Sonntag, 12 August 1973)



Ladies, to the pumps

(Photo: Ahlener Volkszeitung)

Alchemists meet in Stuttgart

They have nothing to do with the alchemists of the Middle Ages who wanted to turn base metal into gold or with bubbling witches' cauldrons. Modern alchemists, a word derived from Arabic, are anxious to give dignity to a profession that has been scorned for so long.

At the end of the 2nd International Alchemists congress held in Stuttgart a statement was issued that alchemy is a philosophy of life that will bring Man, polluted by civilisation, back to harmony.

The 140 participants in the congress, organised by the Paracelsus Research Society, Salt Lake City, discussed such matters as "The influence of the green star" or "Observations on the transformation of materials" and similar subjects.

Participants came from all over Europe and America. The chairman of the congress and a member of the Salt Lake City society, Mr Karsten, claimed with pride that doctors, chemists, scientists, students and houswives had come to Stuttgart to take part in the congress.

Mr Karsten said the vulgar references to alchemy must be done away with for good. The scientific nature of alchemy must be emphasised. But whoever eavesdropped on the discussions in Stuttgart would find it hard to anything scientific in the matter presented.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 13 August 1973)

Selling the Federal Republic

A man from Frankfurt proposes to sell the Federal Republic in 100-gram packets in the United States of America. He has put an advertisement in Chicago newspapers offering little packets of "The Fatherland" to German-Americans who are homesick for the Old Country.

The text of the ad. in the emigré newspaper *Sonntagspost* read: "A little of Germany in your home, close to your loved-ones and close to your own heart". Frankfurt hotelier Rüdiger Thöne expects to do well out of his idea for he knows that people will pay a lot to satisfy their nostalga.

The first order has already arrived from America in Frankfurt.

Thöne offers Federal Republic soil, packed in cellophane bags, in three different varieties — soil from the Federal Republic, five dollars, from the German Democratic Republic, nine dollars and "exclusive" the onetime German Eastern territories for 14.50 dollars.

Thöne gets some of his supplies from visitors coming back from the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and his soil from the FRG he collects himself from the Taunus.

Thöne, 32, has started his business not from political motives but because he recognises that people are fond of the place from which they come. "Everyone loves the place he was born," he said, "and a German living in America might like to plant a little flower in a pot of German soil."

Thöne says he is after all running a business so I have to be hard-headed about it all."

The ad. in America cost $25. "I can have a go. If it does not work I have not lost a fortune," he said.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 July 1973)



This year's veteran car race at Nürburgring was won, in the wo-litre class, by Waller of Britain in a 1936 Era here seen (centre) as competitors line up for the starting signal

(Photo: Dreesbach)

Veterans at Nürburgring

Few of the 15,000 visitors to Nürburgring for this year's German Grand Prix would deny that the Nürburgring Show 1973 including the first international trophy for historic racing and sports cars and motorbikes completely overshadowed the dreary main event.

For the first time the racing cars of the twenties and thirties, lovingly cared for by their owners, duelled again on the 23 kilometre Nürburgring track.

A special club was set up in Nürburg named "The club for historical sports and racing cars, Nürburgring". The president is Herr K.D. Banzhaf, public relations officer at Fords. He and race organiser Hans Stuck need have no fears for the future of races of this kind.

The spectators were in ecstasies as they watched the delightful old Bugattis, Bentleys, Alfa-Romeos and BMWs race round the track at 150 km/h just as in the good old days.

The old motorbikes were just as popular. Dad enjoyed seeing the famous names again — AWD 500cc, BMW Rennsport 750cc and Brough Superior SS100.

Nürburgring has at last caught up with a sport that has been packing 'em in over in England for years — veteran races are held several times each year. But Nürburgring has proved to be a counter-attraction already — although the Prescott Hill Climb was taking place at the same time 35 Britons rolled up at Nürburg with their cars.

If the non-initiated carp that old racing cars are probably worse than new ones as regards safety the facts and figures contradict them. There was not even a dented bumper at Nürburgring. And in 25 years of racing on the other side of the Channel there has not been one serious pile-up.

In between races there was plenty to keep goggle-eyed kids and enthusiastic Dads happy. Twenty or so modern racers were paraded. Daimler-Benz put their safety cars on show, Uniroyal tyres showed off their anti-skid school and then there was the star of the show, John Dodd's BP Special with 27 litres cylinder capacity and 670 horsepower, the fastest and most powerful car in the world with a top speed of well over 300 km/h.

Lutz E. Dreesbach

(Handelsblatt, 14 August 1973)

■ SPORT

World Cup football season gets off to a sluggish start

Walter Scheel promised to come again, so delighted was he by last season's Cup final between Borussia Mönchengladbach and 1 FC Cologne, which Borussia won 2-1.

That was in June — and it is perhaps worth adding that Foreign Minister Scheel is not a football fan. Since then bad news has been followed by worse.

Borussia captain Günter Netzer signed a transfer agreement with Real Madrid worth three million Marks. This the fans were prepared to accept, realising that a million Marks in cash for a 29-year old footballer is an opportunity that is too good to miss.

Netzer, this year's Footballer of the Year, remains the country's best centre-half even though Real Madrid will only allow him to play in six of the eleven fixtures arranged for the national team in preparation for next year's World Cup competition.

He and Franz Beckenbauer alone ensure the team the ability to ring the changes between Mönchengladbach-style pace, making short shrift of the midfield, and Munich-style attention to detail, retaining possession of the ball and ending in a double pass just outside the opposing penalty area — an almost Brazilian move executed by Gerd Müller.

Müller is the third of three players fans in this country automatically associate with success. Three years ago Müller's goals alone qualified this country to take part in the Mexico World Cup competition, and once in Mexico Müller headed the goal-scoring stakes with no fewer than ten successful shots at goal.

Müller stood to net one and a half million Marks in return for his signature on a three-year contract with Barcelona. Bavarian Finance Minister Huber gave Müller a pep talk and Erwin Nehl, his personal manager, also encouraged him to turn down the Spanish bid.

Gerd Müller decided to stay in Munich. Bavarian appeals and power of persuasion succeeded in ensuring that Müller at least stays in this country until the end of the World Cup season.

In 1962 Hamburg theologist Professor Helmut Thielicke lavished praise on Uwe Seeler for refusing a seven-figure transfer bid from Italy.

This time it was not merely a matter of a key player's image being at stake. In Müller's case financial considerations were also involved. His current contract with Bayern Munich, which runs until 1975, is also worth more than half a million Marks.

Idealism no longer seems to be the hallmark of the team nearly one person in four in this country, according to a Wickert opinion poll, reckons will win the World Cup in Munich next July.

Chief coach Helmut Schön feels that tactics are unnecessary for a team including players of the calibre of Netzer, Beckenbauer and Müller. Does this euphoria conceal a sceptic at heart?

All three — Netzer, Beckenbauer and Müller — claim to be dedicated footballers. "I would play football even if it never earned me a penny," Beckenbauer reckons. "I could not imagine living without football," says Netzer, while Müller maintains that "football is my hobby too."

This view of their roles is largely determined by the fans' desire to identify with their heroes. Traditional ties with a team or a club no longer seem to count.

When a sanguine view is taken the enthusiasm to which today's players bear witness amounts to little more that the conviction that hard cash is what really constitutes the attraction of professional football.

This does not, of course, mean that enthusiasm and team spirit are things of the past. They are still in evidence when they tally with the financial interests of team members.

The friendly between Borussia Mönchengladbach and Real Madrid that Borussia won 4 — 2 amply demonstrated that without fellow-players who are prepared to take and follow up his passes (act, that is, on his ideas) even Netzer is a no more than average midfield player.

The Spaniards play their own game, which amounts to the determination to perform well individually. They evidently take a dim view of Franz Beckenbauer's dictum: "One man does the thinking; the others do the running."

In next year's World Cup competition success as a team and as an individual player will be two sides of the same coin. Helmut Schön's squad will have hardly a moment's rest.

The Federal league season ends on 18 May. Between 30 May and the start of the World Cup tournament on 13 June Schön will be able to sort out the best team he can.

Meanwhile the clubs face plenty of trouble in the offing. The bribery and corruption scandal is over and done with ("apart from conventional legal procedings," FA vice-president Hermann Neuberger cautiously adds), but starting with the 1974/75 season there will be a two-division second Federal league, each comprising twenty clubs, making a total of 58 in professional football.

The struggle for favour with the fans, not to mention their gate-money, will grow even more ferocious. The 200,000 spectators who passed through the turnstiles on the first day of the new season are not necessarily an indication of increasing interest on the public's part.

Fifty per cent of the general public, according to a Wickert opinion poll, believe allegations that bribery and corruption are rife in professional football. A crowd of 200,000 at nine games means, if it means anything, that club boards of directors are going to have to get used to the idea of an average crowd of 20,000 per game.

The increase of the lump sum paid by TV for the right to televise Federal league games from 2,300,000 to 2,650,000 Marks is only marginal. It means an increase per club of 20,000 to 150,000 Marks.

Bayern Munich, with a crowd of 50,000, was the odd man out on the first day of the season. The club has spent 1,100,000 Marks on fresh blood, buying Gersdorff from Brunswick and Kapellmann from Cologne, and should be even more powerful and attractive.

As so often in recent years Bayern will make the running championshipwise. Mönchengladbach, Cologne and Dusseldorf will do their best to contest Bayern's leadership.

Jürgen Werner

(Die Zeit, 17 August 1973)